

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Late Warres
IN
DENMARK.

COMPRISING,
All the TRANSACTIONS, both MILITARY
and CIVIL; during the Difference betwixt
THE
Two Northern Crowns,
In the Years, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660.

Illustrated with several Maps.

By R. M.

LONDON,

Printed for Thomas Basset, and are to be sold at his
Shop at the Sign of the George, near Clifford's-
Inn, in Fleetstreet, 1670.

Y R O T S I H

1900

Late Winter

142

DEMARE

0712189403

end of the day; during the afternoon between

445

Two Northern Girls

In the year 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860,

1890

Shop at the Sign of the George, near Chipping
Ward, in Wiltshire, 1701.



TO THE
KINGS
Sacred
MAJESTY.

SIR,

T*His Narrative should have had like its Author, too much Humility to presume into Your Sacred Majesties Presence; but that it is warranted by Your Royal Commands; and that all the Actions of my Life are Dedicated to Your Service.*

The Subject is indeed one of the most considerable, that hath happened upon the Stage of the World of late Ages; where Kings, were both Agressors and Defendants. And this may in some sort warrant its Dedication to that Monarch, who is proper Umpire of the Controversies of Christen-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

dome. Besides, there was no Prince, nor scarce any State in Europe of note, that was not a Party in the quarrel. Nay, Your Majesties own Fleets, and Your Treasures were employed there, though not by Your Orders: And Your Majesties happy Restauration, had so much natural Influence upon the transactions in the North, that it also restored those Crowns to that Peace they now enjoy.

If the English did not alwayes follow their true Interest in those parts, 'tis not to be wondered at, being they prostituted it so unnaturally at home; which did continue, until the sense of their Faults and Errors, obliged them to re-assume it, by returning to their Duty and Obedience to Your Majesty.

All I will say for my Self is, that as I cannot tell whether my humble Reverence for Your Majesties Person, or my Loyalty and Allegiance for my Sovereign be the greater, so they shall ever remain by an equal intermixture of Passion and Duty, in

SIR,

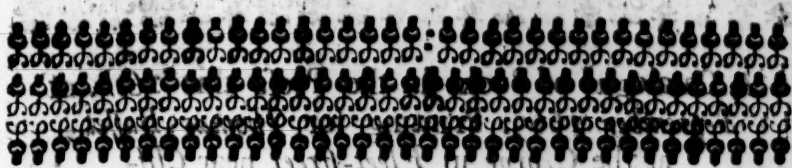
Your Sacred MAJESTIES,

most Obedient, and alwayes Loyal

Subject and Servant,

ROGER MANLEY.

The



The Preface.

TRuth being the life and chief ingredient of History, hath been also my chief research in this Relation, which I was so exact in, that I cannot yet discover that I have been materially imposed upon.

I have endeavoured also to exempt my Narrative from both flattery and detraction; which was no hard matter for me to do, being I had been neither tempted by favours nor dis-obliged by injuries by either of the warring Princes, though I had the honour to know them both.

What I wrote by way of memorials whilst it was acting, upon the place in another language, though not published, sees light but now in ours; and it may be too soon, to discover the Imperfections of its Authour. And yet I will not court the Readers favour being my errors are voluntary. For who is obliged to write? And how few write well?



A Catalogue of Books in the Press this 16th. of
September 1669. Printing for Thomas Basset,
at the George in Fleet-street near Clif-
fords-Inne.

Ecclesia Restaurata, or the History of the reformation of the Church of England, containing the *Beginning, Progress, and Successes* of it; the *Counsels* by which it was conducted; the *Rules* of Piety and Prudence, upon which it was founded. The several steps by which it was promoted or retarded, in the change of times; from the first preparations to it by King Henry the 8th. until the *Legal settling*, and establishment of it under Queen Elizabeth; together with the Intermixture of such *Civil Actions*, and *affairs of State*, as either were co-incident with it, or related to it. The second Edition by P. Heylyn.

Rassalls Entries with a Table not Printed heretofore: This Book will be published in Easter Term next.

Aerius Redeivum or the History of the Presbyterians; By P. Heylyn in fol. This Book will be published in Michaelmas Term next.

A Help to English History; By P. Heylyn. This Book will be published in Michaelmas Term next.

Littletons Tenures, in French and English in a small Pocket Volume, exactly corrected and better Printed than any of the former Editions. This Book will be published in Michaelmas Term next.

Wingates Abridgement of all the Statutes in force and use, from Magna Charta until this present year, 1669.

A Geographical Description of the four parts of the world, taken from the Notes and Works of the famous Monsieur Sanson Geographer to the French King, and other eminent Travellers and Authours.

To which are added, the Commodities, Coyns, Weights and Measures, of the chief places of Traffique in the world; compared with those of England (or London) as to the Trade thereof.

Also a Treatise of Travel, and another of Traffique; wherein the matter of Trade is briefly handled.

The whole illustrated with variety of useful and delightful Mapps and Figures; By Rich. Blome, the price bound 4os. This Book will be published in Michaelmas Term next.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
The late Warres in DENMARK,
BETWIXT
The Two Northern Crowns.

The First Part.



Hough my design at first was but to describe the Siege of *Copenhagen* and its accessories, as will appear by some passages in this narrative: Yet upon second thoughts, and to gratifie the curious, if this jejune Relation find any such; I have judged it proper to add a summary of those transactions which were previous to it, deducing the whole War from its original to that last Treaty which put a period to so many and so eminent calamities.

The ancient emulation and jealousy betwixt the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the result of their neighbourhood, and frequent broyles, have been much heightened by the *Swedish* acquisitions in *Germany*; For having joyned *Pomerania* and *Bremen* to their former Dominions; they have in a manner enclosed and beleagured *Denmark*, which rendered them so uneasy to the *Danes*, that these seemed to desire nothing more than an opportunity, not only to recover the Dutchy of *Bremen*, and what they had lost by the Treaties of *Bromsbro* and *Christianople*, to wit, *Halland*, *Femterland*, *Gothland*, and the *Oesel*, but also to enlarge their own limits, and secure themselves for the future from the further intrachments of their growing neighbours. And now a so wished for occasion did fairly present it self; for *Charles Gustave* King of *Sweden* being deeply engaged in *Poland*, had carried with him the flower of the *Swedish* Souldiery to serve in that expedition; so that whilst he was busie in the conquest of other Countries, he did in some sort expose his own. Nor did the *Danes* omit so favourable a juncture, but mustering their grievances into a *Manifest* (too long to insert) which they published, least they should be thought to be rather invited by the favour of the occasion, than necessitated by any provocations or injuries.

They had beat up their Drums about the beginning of the year

1657. and their preparations for war were carried on with unusual pomp and hopes of success: Their proceeding was likewise formal, for they denounced war by a Herald at Arms some months before they entered into the Lists, which proved ruinous to them; for they thereby gave the enemy time, not only to fortify against the ensuing tempest, but King *Charles* leisure enough to come with his Army out of *Poland* to shew them the fault they had committed in letting slip that which is most precious and most irrecoverable. The *English* and *French* set all their Engines on work, their intercession and their threats to stave off the *Danes*, but to no purpose: For the occasion was too fair, and their preparations too forward to desist, so that their Ministers were roundly answered, that the King of *Denmark* had long expected satisfaction from the Crown of *Sweden*, but being the Resident of the said Crown was retired without giving any, his Majesty was obliged to endeavour his own satisfaction and security by the way of Arms.

The truth is, the party was not ill concerted, for the *Brandenburger* was already drawn off from the *Swedish* alliance, and upon assurance given him from the *Polish* Court, that the Sovereignty of the Ducal *Prussia* should be conferred upon him (which he also now enjoys) he confederated himself with the *Pole* and *Dane* against *Sweden*. The *Dutch* were also highly engaged, for that wary Republick reflecting upon King *Charles* his progress in *Prussia* and *Poland*; and fore-seeing what obstructions his continued conquests in these parts might bring to their Eastern Traffick, resolved to oppose him; which they not only did by sending a fleet and 1300 Foot to secure *Danish*, but also by this powerful diversion of the *Danes*, to which they contributed vast sums of monys, especially those of *Amsterdam* upon the securities of the Customs in the *Sound* and *Norway*.

The King of the *Romans*, at present Emperour, had also an Army hovering about the *Swedish* frontiers in *Prussia* and *Poland*, which put King *Charles* to a stand, not knowing which to turn himself, yet resolved to fall with his whole power upon the first that broke out, fancying that he was strong enough to deal with either of them apart (and it was impossible they should joyn at the distance they were at) whereas he should be too weak both for the one and the other if he divided his Forces. He was at *Thorn* in *Prussia* in expectation of the motion of these new Adversaries, where he at length heard the news of the *Danes* invading of him in the Duchy of *Bremen* and the Frontiers of *Sweden*. And this seems a second error, for either they ought to have begun sooner whilst the King was engaged with so many enemies in *Poland*, or they ought to have stayed longer, and expected until the *Imperialists* had made the first attempt, so that they then should have had nothing to combat with but Cities and Fortresses. The King of *Sweden* was so transported with the first notice of this breach, that amongst other expressions of rage and scorn he was heard to say: *Frederick, Frederick, I will stick so close*

to thee, that I will sink with thee. It may be reasonably imagined that for all this appearing violence, he was secretly glad of this rupture with the Danes; for it did not only in some sort justifie his invading of Poland, the Truce being not yet expired, by their example; but also gave him an opportunity to quit that Country with honor, which he would otherwise have been forced to leave of himself. He had indeed wholly mastered that great Kingdom by his valour and the divisions of the Nobility there, many of which he had gained by his own and the Vice-Chancellors *Radzinski's* practises and intelligence; having forced all to swear fealty to him, though they all left him afterwards with the same levity, but with more justice, being they returned to the obedience and service of their own Prince again; so that he was weary of that War, as being engaged in too vast a Territory; and so far from his Confines. He had obliged *Ragotski* Prince of *Transylvania* to be of his party, who had also entred *Poland* with a very great Army; but he suffered him to be lost by exposing him: for though they had joyned forces together, yet he drew his off, being he could not draw the enemy to battle and marched towards *Prussia*, whilst the other was designed to return home, which for want of conduct he could not compass: having lost his whole Army, his hopes in *Poland* (being no less than a Crown) and afterwards his whole Country by that unfortunate expedition.

The King of *Sweden* being therefore resolved to quit the *Polish* War, left his Brother Prince *Adolph*, in *Prussia*, for the defence of that Province, which he mainly desired to conserve: In so much that he had made offer of the Crown of *Poland* (being *Ragotski* failed of it) to the King of *Hungary* himself, provided he might keep *Prussia*, Count *Steinbock* to observe the *Imperialists* and *Poles*; his Brother-in law Count *Magnus de la Garde* in *Leisland* against *Muscovy* and *Lithuania*; and marched himself (laying all in ashes behind him, to secure his Rear from the pursuit of the *Polish* Cavalry) with about 6000 Horse towards *Pomerania*. He had in vain solicited the Duke of *Brandenburgh* to lend him some Troops, though he had offered him *Thorn*, *Elbing*, and *Marienburg* as cautions, provided he might leave *Swedish* Officers in them. Being therefore obliged to stand upon his own bottom, he came to *Stetin*, whence he wrote to all the Electors, especially him of *Mentz* as most addicted to *France*; complaining of the *Danish* invading of him in the Empire, which was against the tenor of the instrument of Peace; and besought his counsel and assistance. Whilst the King of *Sweden* hastens thus by Land towards *Denmark*, the King of *Denmark* being advertised, (though falsely) that he took his journey by water, put to Sea in person with his whole Fleet, and coasting the Countrey of *Pomerania*, came to *Dansick*, where he understood the truth of King *Charls* his motion, which obliged him after a fruitless survey of the *Baltick* Sea, to return in great hast to *Copenhagen*. Whilst the *Swedes* were on their way towards *Holstein*, part of the *Danish* forces had taken *Bremerford*, a good place in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, and two other
Forts,

Forts, the *Bellemer Sconce* lying upon the *Elbe*, and the *Leher Sconce* commanding the *Wefer*. They solicited also the City of *Bremen* by an Ambassador to quit the *Swedes* party, but not with that success they had hoped; for it seemed yet too early for them to declare: Although they were assured in answer to their address to the States, *Aug. 13.* of being assisted in case they were attempted, conformable to the Treaty betwixt them, which regarded the *Swedes* not the *Danes*. And here some take the freedom to blame the Danish Conduct; for had they carried the War into *Sweden* it self, dis-furnished of her principal Detendants; Her King absent in a remote Countrey, the very terror of an invading Army, would have wrought that confusion and consternation in the Country as might probably have given the *Dane* opportunity to have driven on the War as far as *Stockholm*. But they on the contrary attack the Swedish Dominions in *Germany*, Allarming thereby their friends as well as their enemies: For the Princes of the nether Saxon circle, declare the invading of the Dutchy of *Bremen*, to be a breach of the peace of the Empire, and a violation of the *Instrument of Peace*; for the observation whereof, they stood reciprocally engaged.

By this time King *Charles* was advanced as far as *Hamburgh* with his harassed and ill-accountred Troops, without opposition, where he mounted, and cloathed, and armed them by the favour of that City, jealous of its own Lords greatness, and the assistance of good supplies of moneys, which he received there upon the *French* accompt. It seemed strange what was become of the Danish Army, but that, however sixteen thousand strong: In stead of fighting the enemy in *Pomerania* or *Mecklenburg*, or any where before they reach'd *Hambourg*, still retired before them, but whether affrighted with the reputation of these glorious Ruffians, or betrayed by their own dissentions, I will not determine; though it be certain that King *Charles* had his *Ulefeld* in *Denmark* as well as his *Radzeuski* in *Poland*. The *Swedes* being thus refreshed and lusty, grew also very numerous, by the accession of such whom the hopes and liberty of pillage daily added to their party. They followed the retiring *Danes* as far as *Fredericks-ode*, which they also after some time took by assault; under the conduct of Marshal *Wrangel*.

Fredericks-ode is seated upon the lesser *Belt*, a new Town endow-ed with many priviledges to invite Inhabitants, and fortified on the land side, though the Works were not fully finished after the modern fashion; the Sea was esteemed a sufficient guard on that side it watered, being strengthened with Pallisadoes from the adjoining Bulwarks as far as deep water. But the *Swedes* under favour of the darkness, and some false Allarms in other places, broke down this wooden Fence, and rushing in on that part up to the Saddle skirts in water, wheeled about the Bastion and entred the Town rendring themselves Masters of the same, without any considerable resistance.

This victory equalled a gained battle, for they made above 2000
priso-

prisoners (besides the slain which amounted to as many more) well nigh 100 Officers, 33 Colours and above fourscore pieces of Cannon, with other store of Ammunition and plunder. This success rendred them also absolute Masters of *Holstein*, except *Krempen* and *Gluckstadt*, and *Rensbourg*; gave them the plunder and contribution of all *Frisland*, and the communication betwixt the North and East Seas by the lesser *Belt*. It was thought strange that so strong a place as *Fredericks-ode*, and so well provided with Garrison and provisions, should be taken by a number scarce equal to them within. *Andrew Bilde* Marshal of the Kingdom, was Governour of this important place: but whether he lost it by his fate, or by his folly; by his cowardise, or by his treason is still disputeable. However it was, it cost him his life, he being mortally wounded in the attack, which did not yet suffice to clear his memory from obloquie and a suspicion of disloyalty. The *Swedes* themselves contributed much, though accidentally to this rumour, for they sent his body richly vested, without ransom over into *Funen*, which encreased the ill reports of him; though it might as well have been thought an argument of their generous humanity, as his perfidie, as they will hereafter evince in the person of Vice Admiral *De Witt*, slain in the *Sound*, and returned with no less honour and pomp. King *Frederick* hearing of this great loss quits *Schonen*, where he had in person twice beaten the enemy by *Helmstat*, and flies into *Funen* to give orders for the conservation of that Island, the second of *Denmark*: Which done, he leaves his Bastard Brother *Guldenlew* there with 3000. men, and returns to *Copenhagen*, to struggle with the divided factions of his Nobles, which did not end but in theirs and their Countries Ruine.

But leaving the *Danes* to their dissensions, and the *Swedes* posted in their new conquests; let us step back a little to take a short view and prospect of the civil transactions contemporary with the former.

England had too great an interest in the *Baltick*, which may not improperly be called the *Mediterranean* of the North, to sit still without making reflection upon the great commotions in those parts: And besides the concerns of a free and undisturbed Commerce; *England* being at that time in an open War with *Spain*, had much rather that the Swedish Arms had been at liberty to give a check to the other *Austrian* Branch in *Germany*, than to have been diverted by a Warre with *Denmark*: Upon this account two Gentlemen are made choice of to endeavour a Reconciliation betwixt the two Kings. Mr. *Meadome* being sent to the Court of *Denmark*, and Mr. *Jepson* to that of *Sweden*. The former arrived in *Denmark* in the beginning of *September* 1657. much about the time that the *Swede* entred *Frisland*. He was received far above his Character, being that of Envoy Extraordinary, to the regret of other forreign Ministers: But the conjuncture of time and affairs obliged the *Danes* by all possible waies and means to ingratiate

gratiate themselves with the *English*: So that the Envoyes Proposition for a Mediation, after he had declared the ruinous effects of a War, was accepted off. The *Dane* declaring that he was ready to enter upon a Treaty of a sure and honourable peace under the Mediation of *England*; and that so soon as the King of *Sweden* should testify a suitable concurrence on his part. This Declaration was transmitted to the *Swede* with all possible diligence, and drew from him a reply dated at *Wismar*, in *October* following; in which offer many expostulations how injuriously he had been dealt with, intermixt with some language, which the *Dane* resented as opprobrious: He declares likewise his assent to enter upon a Treaty under the Mediation of *France* and *England*, and that the preliminaries as to place of treating, number of Commissioners, safe conducts, &c. should be adjousted according to the transactions betwixt the two Crowns in the year 1644. upon the confines of the two Kingdoms.

This reply produced another Declaration from the *Dane*. That he consents also to the transactions in 44. only as to the place of the future Treaty conceives *Lubeck* or some other in that neighbourhood to be most commodious: That the Treaty should commence under the Mediation of *England*, and also of the States General; and so soon as *France* should offer him their Mediation, he would accept of that likewise: But that the designed Peace be not restrained to the two Crowns only, but that the King of *Poland* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* be comprehended in the same. It was easie to see how this comprehension of the *Pole*, insisted on by the *Dane*, would trouble the scene of affairs which obliged the *English* Mediator to remonstrate it to be a novel Proposal; and how that it would render the so much desired peace tedious and difficult, if not impossible; for that the differences betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden* were but a sudden paroxisme, if taken in time, easily cured; but those betwixt *Sweden* and *Poland* were chronique and inveterate, not so soon eradicated.

However the second Declaration of the King of *Denmark* of the third of *November* was sent to the King of *Sweden*, and begat another from him; wherein he declares himself unsatisfied with the King of *Denmark's* nominating *Lubeck* for the place of Treaty, and receding thereby from the so antiently practised Custom betwixt the two Crowns. He further takes notice of the conquisite delays and difficulties made by the *Dane*, by intermixing the controversies of others which have no reference to the *Danish* War. Yet that he is willing to grant his safe conducts to such Confederates of the *Danes* as shall be desirous to be present at a treaty in any place of the Confines. And for the States general, after they shall have ratified the Treaty made at *Elbing* and thereby renewed their former friendship with *Sweden*; in case they offer to him their Mediation, he would so declare himself, that they should have no occasion of complaint.

To

To this the King of *Denmark* rejoyned another answer, insisting upon the immediate admission of the States General to the Mediation without the previous qualification of first ratifying the *Elbing* Treaty; a point which had already been depending a whole twelvemonth, and was like to depend longer: adheres to the place formerly nominated for both sides to meet at, and presses that the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* his Confederates should not only have the bare liberty of being present at the Treaty, but that the respective Treaties to be had with them should proceed by the same steps and means as that with *Denmark*. 17. Dec.

As to the place of the Treaty the intrigue was this: the *Dane* would have the meeting at *Lubeck* or any other neutral place in *Germany*, where the *Polish* and *Brandenburg* Ministers might be present as parties with the *Dane* in the same War. On the other side, the King of *Sweden* would have it upon the Frontiers betwixt the two Kingdoms on the other side the *Baltick*, whither he knew the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* could not easily come; thereby to disunite the *Pole* and *Dane* by the jealousy of a separate Treaty. And perhaps at the same time treating openly with the *Dane*, and under-hand with the *Pole*, and they two striving to prevent each other in the peace; where he saw the most advantageous conditions proffered him there clap up a peace and prosecute the War against the other. To prevent this the Mediatours endeavoured to draw from the King of *Sweden* an intimation of what terms and conditions he would rest satisfied within the ensuing Treaty, that so when the Commissioners came to meet, they might have little more to do, than to sign and seal; and the business be effected as soon as reported; with insinuations of conditions of this Nature. A general Amnesty for what was past, Restitution of places taken each upon other: A solemn Reversal under good Garanties of the peace in 44. And a way opened for redressing the *Gravamina*, particularly those relating to the trade of the *Baltick*, and for preventing defraudations of the Duties in the *Sound*, which were the pretended cause of the War. And to dispose the King of *Denmark* to dis-joyn his interests from *Poland*, it was represented to him what a broken Reed *Poland* had proved to him, sometimes making proffer to pass their Forces over the *Oder*, and then presently retreating again, upon pretence of joyning the *Austrian* Foot; not so much as entering *Pomerania* all this while to give the *Swedes* the least diversion. That the Conditions of the Alliance were mutual and reciprocal, which not being performed on the *Polish* part, his Majesty of *Denmark* was no longer obliged. That Confederacies were for mutual safety, and not intended to oblige Princes to perish either singly or in company. That he had the fresh Example of his Heroick Father, who though he had entred into an Alliance with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, yet the necessity of his affairs, to recover what was lost,

constrained him to make a peace with the Emperour, in the year 1629. exclusive to his Allies.

But neither did these reasons prevail with the King of *Denmark* to depart from his alliance with the *Pole*, till a more pressing necessity afterwards extorted from him a separate treaty. Nor was the King of *Sweden* willing to anticipate the treaty by Declaring himself before hand as to the Conditions, nor to content himself in the Conditions with less than an honourable compensation, for the pretended injury the *Dane* had done him: But that since the *Dane* had made him dance so long a march from *Poland* to *Fuiland*, he was resolved at least to make him pay the Fiddlers.

Thus the War of the Cabinet was managed by paper missives and memorials, but that of the field was carried on at another rate; for whilst the active *Swedes* omitted nothing for the prosecuting of their Conquests, they gave out they would besiege the remaining Fortresses of *Holsteyn*, and seemed to hearken to such overtures of peace as were made to them the better to amuse the *Danes*, whilst they secretly prepared their Bridges, Waggon, Sleds, Hurdles, and the like necessities to pass over the Ice into the Isles. They were secure on the *Holsteyn* side, no enemy appearing to disturb them; for the Elector of *Brandenburg* though reconciled to the King of *Poland*, had not yet openly broke with *Sweden*, and the *Imperialists* were busied at the sieges of *Cracow* and *Thorn*. Only the *Poles* not unmindful of the favour the *Danes* had done them, by drawing the burthen of the War (which had well-nigh overwhelmed their Country) upon themselves, out of interest, or gratitude, or both, sent *Charneski* with 12000. Horse to their assistance. These troops past the *Oder* in order to their march towards *Holstein*; but hearing of the taking of *Fredericks-Ode* advanced no farther, but having pillaged and ravaged the Country, returned back into their own, having effected nothing but the ruine of a great number of Villages and poor people. As the *Swedes* were frighted with this cavalcade of the *Poles*, so the *Danes* had also been with the arming of the circle of the northern *Saxons* for the recovery of *Bremerford*, as a part of the Empire, pretending to keep the peace of the same (as is already mentioned) and the removal of all hostility out of its bounds. But the troops these raised amounting to 4000. dispersed without a blow, occasioned as well by their own Divisions, as the open dissenting of the Duke of *Lunenburg*, a Prince of that circle, and Brother in Law to the King of *Denmark*; so that they, as well as the *Polish* Auxiliaries, only appeared and Meteor-like threatned and vanished. But the *Swedes* having got all things in a readiness to attempt *Funen*, the heavens also seemed to contribute to their Designs; for the cold was so intense, and violent beyond the memory of man, that not only lesser Rivers and Fountains froze up, but the Sea it self became passable, being covered with an unusual, but solid bridge of Ice. King *Charles* was too prudent to let slip any opportunities which made

made way to his greatness. Not a night passed wherein he did not send his Spies into the Island, and his Scouts to discover the firmness of the congealed Waters, which being at length reported to be strong enough, save only a small but long rent of scarce five foot broad, he gave orders to march, commanding great quantity of planks, posts, hurds and the like materials to make a bridge over the said breach, to be first brought thither and laid. Two troops of *Waldeck's* Regiment fell in, the Ice breaking, and several other single troopers were drowned, which forced the Army to rush on with more vigour, being too far engaged to retire, and the danger behind them being greater than that in their front. The *Danes* made some though no great opposition, for being bravely charged, they were easily broke, routed and slain, scarce two hundred of them escaping: the King pursued them that fled so close, that he overtook *Guldenlewe* who was sick in his Coach not far from *Odensæ*, in which town the chief of the Island, he also surprised five Danish Senators, and several other fugitives, so that he became absolute Master of this wealthy Province and the whole power of the Enemy in it, which consisted of well nigh 5000. Souldiers and armed Boores, sixty pieces of Cannon and great Magazines of all sorts of military provisions.

'Tis not unworthy the remembring, that this adventrous march over the Frozen Seas, was the resolve of the King himself at a Council of War against the sense of his chief Officers, who censured it of too much temerity. And since it prospered well, 'tis due to the honour of that Kings Name, which had it otherwise succeeded would have aspersed his memory.

The news of the losse of *Funen* being arrived at *Copenhagen* carried so much the more of terrour and apprehension with it, because besides the losse of so important an Isle, the like Bridge, which had let the *Swede* over the little *Belt* into *Funen*, might serve to pass him over the great *Belt* into *Zeland*. Hereupon the King of Denmark sends for Mr. *Meadowe* desiring him to set a Treaty on foot with all possible expedition, which he did, by writing to the King of *Sweden*. Feb. 3. the purport whereof was to this effect: That the King of Denmark had authoris'd the Lord *Foackim Gersdorff*, and *Christian Sckeel*, both Senatours of his Kingdom his Plenepotentiaries and Commissioners, to meet, treat, and conclude with the like Commissioners of his, at such time and place as his Majesty should please to appoint: which he also desired at the instance and intervention of *England*, and that his Majesty would be further pleased to deliver out safe conducts in due form, both for him the Mediatour, and for the Danish Commissioners, and in the mean time suspend all future Hostilities. This being dispatched with extraordinary diligence, the Messenger returned with his Answer Dated at *New-
burg* in *Funen*, where he left the King; whereof the substance is, That he thanked him for his care and dexterity in promoting the concerns of a peace, which the *Dane* had hitherto so obstinately op-
posed

posed, How he was willing to enter presently upon a Treaty under the respective Mediatours of *France* and *England*; and being it was left to him to appoint the place, he gave the King of *Denmark* the choice, either of the Isle of *Spro*, or of *Runkoping* in *Langland* for the Commissioners of both sides to meet in, within eight daies. That together with the present Letter he had sent safe conducts as desired: And that the business required the greater haste, forasmuch as he could promise no security to himself in a suspension of Arms.

This was a clear answer and concession as to the desired treaty but he would not be complemented out of his advantages by a cessation of Arms; knowing well that nothing more facilitates a conquest than a pannick terror incuffed by the suddenness of an invasion, and that the only way to profit upon it, is to give no respite for recollecting those Spirits which the first impressions of fear had dissipated. The *Swedish* King marches incessantly. His nearest way to *Zeland* had been over the great *Belt*, from *Newbourg* to *Corsur*, about 16. English miles. But he takes that of *Langland*, so to *Laland*, then to *Falster*, which though much the further, yet was the safer; because the traject from Island to Island was no where so broad as that in the great *Belt*; And he would secure all behind him.

They were not idle this while at *Copenhagen*. The *Swedish* safe conducts being delivered, the *Danish* Commissioners together with the English Mediatour journeyed with what diligence they could towards *Aydoping*. They had travelled little more than sixty miles English, when not far from *Wardenburg* or *Warburg*, the last town upon *Zeland* from *Copenhagen* they met with the *Swedish* scouts by whom they were advertised that their King was newly entred upon *Zeland* and not far behind. And soon after they met the King himself in a Sledge at the head of 200 *Finnish* Horse. This incredible diligence was altogether surprizing to the *Danish* Commissioners. All alighting out of their Sledges (the manner of travelling in the Northern Countrys) to salute him; His Majesty did the same, and willing them to pass on to the neighbouring town, and that he would speedily be with them: For that he was going only to take view of a ground where he might most conveniently draw his Army into battalia. To *Warburg* they went, and there the Treaty first began, where they also met the *Chevalier Terlon* Ambassador of *France*, who came in company with the *Swedish* King; The Commissioners on the part of *Sweden* were Count *Ulefelt* a discontented *Dane*, who had a long time refuged himself in the Court of *Sweden*, and *Sieno Bielke* a Senatour of *Sweden*.

The King of *Sweden* staid no longer at *Warburg* than was necessary for drawing over his Army, and then ranging them in Battalia in a large extended Front in view of the *Danes* to make them appear more numerous at last marched off in the direct way to *Copenhagen*. 'Twas uncomfortable treating whilst the King was marching, and the

the Mediatours and Commissioners not being willing to be left behind, adjourned the Treaty, and breaking up thence overtook the King at *Kenk* four leagues from *Copenhagen*, who the next morning drew up in Battalia again, and then drew off as before in an orderly march towards *Copenhagen*. The number of the *Swedish* Army was about 7000. Horse and Foot and some few Field-pieces, with which he took up his quarters within two leagues of the City; of which he would often sportingly say, she was a fair Bride and deserved dancing for, and not without reason neither, for had he won *Copenhagen* as he woo'd her, she had brought him for her Dower all *Denmark* and *Norway*, and then without the tedious enumeration of his particular principalities, he might for his imperial style and title have wrote himself, *King of the North*.

The Mediatours and Commissioners went to a near adjoining Village called *Toftrup* there to draw up the abstract or minutes of the Treaty, which when mutually agreed on, all hostility was immediately to cease. In the mean time it will not be impertinent to take a short view of the posture and condition of *Copenhagen*.

The Fortifications of the City were much decay'd, partly through security, not having seen an Enemy in an hundred years; partly through Parsimony to avoid an expence supposed needless: Besides, that great trading Towns are not over willing to be fettered with Walls and Bastions: And perhaps the *Danish* Nobility were as to this case less willing than they of *Copenhagen*, for fear the strength of the City should make the Burgers heady. The walls being of Earth only, had been much crumbled down with the frost and time, and were scaleable without Ladders; neither could they use the Spade at that time the earth being so petrified with the cold. There were no Cannon upon the Walls when the Commissioners parted from *Copenhagen*, but by this time good store were drawn from the Ships and mounted upon Ship carriage. The truth is, the City was full of men, the Burgers and such as fled out of the Country, besides five or six hundred Horse and some Foot which were drawn from *Schonen*, but they wanted provisions and forrage to hold out a long siege: But nothing dismay'd the *Dane* more, than that none of their Confederates was in a capacity to help them: For the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* were too remote, and the Ice which was a Bridge to the *Sweed*, was a Bar to the *Hollander*: Add to this the temper of the people, some murmuring against their Governours, others crying out they were betrayed, and all affrighted and irresolved: Only this testimony is justly due to the person of the King, that he comported himself with a magnanimous constancy amidst all adventures. Some think if the King of *Sweden* had been truly informed of the condition of the Town, he would have attempted the taking of it: But though he knew all was not well with the *Dane*, he did not know the worst, and it may be he thought the hazard too great to attack so great a City with so little an Army. Perhaps he would tempt Fortune no further, but esteem'd

ed it a prudent choice, rather to close with present and certain advantages, than to catch at things future and contingent, especially such as depend upon the issues of War, than which no humane thing is more subject to vicissitude.

The Minutes of the Treaty were in few daies concluded at *Tostrop*, upon which a cessation of Arms followed, and from thence the Mediatours and Commissioners removed to *Roschild* there to digest them more at leisure into the body of a Treaty, which being done, they were Signed and Sealed by the Mediatours and Commissioners on both sides; and afterwards ratified by both Kings, together with the Seals and Subscriptions of the Senatours of both Kingdoms. The Sum of the Articles were:

Feb. 26.
1657

1. That there be an eternal Peace, Amity, and Amnistie betwixt both Crowns, Kingdoms, &c.
2. That both Kings renounce and forsake all former contracts and alliances made with any other Princes, Kings, Common-wealths, &c. to the prejudice or hurt of either party, nor make none such for the future.
3. That both parties shall endeavour to their power, to exclude all foreign hostile men of War out of the Sound and Baltick Sea.
4. That all Swedish ships whatsoever, shall in the Sound and Belt be free and exempted from all Customs, Inquisition, Visitation, Arrest or other Molestation whatsoever, &c. producing only a right sea-pass in the King of Denmarks Custom-houses of Elzineur and Newburg.
5. That the King of Denmark should in consideration of the restitution of the places taken and possessed by the Swedes, as also for a recompence of the damages caused by this War, give and grant to His Majesty of Sweden and His Heirs for ever, the Provinces of Hal-
67 } land, Belking, Schonen, and Bornholm. The Castles, Towns
89 } and Territories of Bahuys, and Druntheim in Norway, and that
10 } secular and Ecclesiastick jurisdiction which the King of Denmark
11 } hath over some places in the Isle of Reugen, all places whatsoever taken from the Swedes during this War. As also three Swedish ships taken in the Sound, with their lading, upon the first breaking out of these differences.
12. In consideration hereof, the King of Sweden shall restore to the King and Kingdom of Denmark, all these places he now possesses jure belli; as Sealand, Laland, &c. as soon as the 2000. Horse which the King of Denmark promised to the King of Sweden, were delivered; renounce all pretences to the Earldom of Delmen-
13 } horst and Ditmarsen, and disclaim all rights to those Noblemens goods in Holstein; notwithstanding their dependance upon the Dutchy of Bremen. The following 6. Articles relate to the evacuation of places.
19. That all Prisoners be released without Ransom.
20. That all inhabitants of any the delivered Countryrs, may remove their habitations whither they will.

21. That

21. That all former alliances betwixt the two Crowns continue of force.
22. That the King of Denmark shall give equitable satisfaction to
23. The Duke of Holstein Gottorp, and forget all differences and unkindnesses which this War may have produced betwixt them.
24. That Count Ulfeld be placed in his estates and honours.
25. That such Princes, &c. that desire to be included in this Peace, shall seek it with both Kings.
26. That the Danish manifest be recalled.
27. { And that all as above be inviolably observed on both sides, &c.
28. }

Thus this pacification was concluded and Signed, which divested King Frederick of the best Provinces of his Kingdom, which would have cost much blood, and many years to have conquered; of great part of his Army, to be employed ere long against himself; and of his reputation, the best jewel of Princes; which he will yet recover when he is out of the apprenticeship of his Nobles, and reduced to that extremity, that nothing but his own magnanimity can support him.

But on the other side, If the King of Denmark were a great loser by what he quitted, it may be well said he was a great saver if we consider what he kept. For he who had lost all in the Field, could not reasonably expect to regain it upon the Carpet: And though some of his principal branches were lopt off, which through time may grow again, yet the root was preserved, for had that been lost all had gone without resource: So that I esteem it only as an expression of kindness towards his King and Country, that of the Danish Ryxhoffmaster, a person of eminent merit, who immediately before he was to Sign the Treaty whispered into the ear of one near him, those words of the Roman Emperour, *Utinam nescirem Literas*. And upon this accompt and in gratitude for his good offices the King was pleased to admit Mr. Meadowe the English Envoy into the Order of Denmark. This Treaty thus concluded and ratified, the next thing which followed was the solemn Interview betwixt the two Kings at Fredericksburg a sumptuous Palace of the King of Denmark about four Leagues from Copenhagen: Thither both of them went, and which is remarkable without any previous stipulation, concerning guards or number of followers usually practised upon such occasions; but with a frank and Northern simplicity, either not mistrusting or not willing to mistrust each other.

King Frederick met his new guest who came from Rotskild some two miles from his house: Both Kings being at a competent distance alighted out of their Coaches at the same time, and approaching on foot saluted each other by joyning their right hands with all the respect and obliging demonstrations of kindness imaginable; and now as if their late enmity had been entirely forgot, they both entred the same Coach, being the Danish, first the Swede, then the Dane, accompanied by the English Mediatour and the Duke of Holstein

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Holstein Sunderburg, and so rode to *Fredericksburg*, where they were received and entertained with as much magnificence as the place and season could afford. At Table the Queen of *Denmark* sat at the boards end, the King of *Sweden* on the side at her right hand, as being the guest, and next below him on the same side the King of *Denmark*. Were that *Roman* to describe this entertainment, who affirmed that the same wisdom was requisite for ordering a feast as for disciplining an Army; he would be more large in the description of it than I shall be. Let it suffice to say that the method was exact, the provision sumptuous, and the solemnity rare, to see two Kings at one Table, who had so little before been in Arms one against the other. And it was not unpleasant that those Trumpets and Kettle-Drums which so lately denounced Death should now be made use of, as loudly to proclaim Healths. The Solemnity continued from Thursday to Saturday, both Kings for two nights lodging under the same Roof: At parting they exchanged Horses, and other Presents, and those Officers of the *Danish* Court who were particularly appointed to attend the *Swedish* King, were nobly regaled by him. On Saturday he took his leave and went to *Elzeneur* the King of *Denmark* accompanying him part of the way; from thence he past the *Sound* through the noise and smoak of the Cannon of the two Castles of *Cronenburg* and *Elzenburg*, to take possession of his fresh conquests in *Schonen*; where he was entertained by his new Subjects, with more pomp than passion, more state than affection; the sense of their wonted obedience being yet too green to be so soon forgot. He did not stay long there but went to *Gottenburg* to meet his Queen, as also to deliberate with his Senate and rejoyce with his friends over his late successes.

And thus the Scene of Affairs being changed in *Denmark*, a Serene calm did ensue, but not last long: However, the *Swedes* did pretend to treat a new and stricter Alliance betwixt the two Crowns.

The *Swedish* Army was to continue in *Denmark* till the first of May, where they lived with the usual rapines and disorders of insulting Victors; which must yet continue longer than the designed time for their removal. The Danes thus low were forced to a quick execution of the Treating, as fearing to displease their new friends; who yet complained of delays and evasory and non-performance. Most of the two thousand Horse were run away, which they pretended was by collusion, and the Governour of *Bremervord* made difficulty to deliver up that place, which he will yet part with too soon. But that which vext the *Swedes* most, was that the Danes refused to enter into a Treaty Offensive and Defensive with them. The main design of the *Swedes* herein was the stopping of the *Sound*, which *Van Beuning* the Dutch Embassadour then in *Denmark* well observing, presented a memorial to the King, desiring him, that whereas by the third Article of the Treaty of *Roschild*, that both Crowns should endeavour to hinder all Hostile Fleets from

from entering into the *Baltick* Sea, that the said Article should not be understood of the ships of the Lords the States General, being it directly opposed the league formerly made betwixt them and the *Danish* crown. The said Embassadour had upon the fabricking of this Article, likewise declared against it; but *Denmark* was then forced to yield to demands much more prejudicial, and of greater importance to it self, not being in a condition to mind the interests of others, where their own did so eminently suffer. The King of *Sweden* had sent two Commissioners to *Copenhagen* to urge this mutual confederation, but they could not bring the *Danes* to it, which produced new and more intricate difficulties, for the *Swedes* complained openly of the *Danes* delays, and the *Danes* of the *Swedes* not withdrawing their forces out of their Countries, as they had promised. One pretext seemed to beget another, and one obstacle was no sooner removed but new ones appeared, especially on the *Swedes* side, who at length declared, they could not withdraw their Army out of *Denmark* until they had entire satisfaction. Their chief pretences were the completing of the 2000 horse, they having received no more than 936 most *Danes*, whereas they should have been all *German*s, the possession of the little Isle of *Ween* as belonging to *Schoonen*, 400000 rixdollars in consideration of the loss they sustained by *Henry Carloff* (who had carried one of their *Guinea* ships, laden with a quantity of Gold and Elephants teeth into *Glackfat*, after the making of the peace); and other no less considerable points, relating to the late treaty. But most of these difficulties were cleared or remitted to the mediation of the *English* and *French* Ministers, and now all seemed to tend to a perfect understanding. By this time, the King and Queen of *Sweden* were come into *Holstein*, from whence they went to *Wismar*, a convenient Port to transport the Queen back to *Stockholm* at pleasure. The King returned to *Oldeslo*, the general rendezvous of his troops, where he gave audience to several Embassadors; the neighbouring States, and Towns, and Princes, being jealous of his great preparations and designs, which jealousy was augmented by the daily boastings of his Officers, who seemed to threaten all, whilst the truth lay clossier concealed. *Denmark* alone seemed to have no reason to fear, having not only delivered *Bremerworde*, but consented almost to every thing that was required of them to content the *Swedes*, and get them out of their Country, well-nigh ruined with their extortion and in-quarterings. But they will not be gone so, and now smile at the *Danish* credulity, whilst they prepare to possess the whole, and render their King one of the greatest Princes of *Europe*. The pretences for this second War. were plausible enough, as appears by the *Swedish* Manifest, and the Kings own speeches in the ensuing narration. But the *Danes* accused *Charls* his boundless ambition, and cried out plainly, and not without probability, that he had already devoured the dominion of the East sea in his thoughts; which was not to be compassed but by the preceding conquest of *Denmark*. They further affirmed, that he had therefore
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been perswaded at *Gottenburg*, to prosecute the enlargement of the *Swedish* Empire by new acquisitions. The conflict would be easie, and as the first was, bloodless. He should but go and overcome, and by the accession of his future victories, open a passage to his farther greatness. Add to these, the tried difficulties of the *Polish* war, the quiet but armed condition of *Germany*, the peaceful inclinations of *France* at that time, but above all, a warlike Prince (and as he pretended provoked and injured) environed with a victorious Army, and it will not seem strange that the fury of the threatening tempest fell upon *Denmark*. But whatever the causes were, the war was easier begun than ended, whilst the *Danes* serve for a memorable example to posterity, how valid despair is, and that there is nothing proof against an enforced necessity.

The *Swedes* were obliged, as is already observed, by the Treaty of *Roschkind*, to withdraw all their forces out of all the Provinces of *Denmark*, by the first of *May*; which they did not only not do, for *Holstein*, *Futland*, *Funen*, and the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, were still in their power, but took also new councils, to invade and conquer the rest of that divided Kingdom. The King then being resolved to renew the war, prepared all that was judged necessary for so great an expedition, and that with no less secrecy than prudence; and truly it was no wonder that the *Danes* were surpris'd (being by several Embassies, letters and messages lull'd into so ruinous a security) when as the Ministers of divers Princes who then followed the Court, were so far from penetrating into its designs, that they had not the least suspicion of a second invasion upon *Denmark*.

Aug. 5. The fleet and land-forces met at *Kiel* in *Holstein*, and now all things
1658. being in a readiness, the Army and provision for a longer journey than was intended, were imbarcked. The King being under sail, with eleven men of war, and near sixty great and lesser Vessels, whilst some thought him gone towards *Prussia*, others towards *Pomerania*, and others towards other places, but none towards *Denmark*; secured as it was thought by the late Peace, he steered his

Aug. 8. course towards *Zealand*. Being arrived at *Corsieur*, a sea-town on the West side of the Island, he landed his Army, greater in reputation than numbers (for it did not exceed 1200 horse and 4000 foot) without any opposition or resistance. These few guards that were on the coasts, fled at first sight of the fleet, before they knew whether they were enemies or not: and the Towns-men dissembling what they durst not seem to fear, were forced to receive these new guests as friends; whilst they and the country, as the Army pass'd along, were made believe, as the *Swedes* gave it out, that they intended no hostility to any, but were come to assist the King of *Denmark* against the designs of some of his rebellious Nobles. King *Charles* his chief care upon his landing, was to keep his soldiers from plundering, and by quick sending out of parties of horse to suppress the *Danish* troops which were quartered up and down the Island;

Island; or at least to hinder their retreat into *Copenhagen*. Count *Totte* Lieutenant-General of the horse, led the Van; but the King himself (I know not by what fatality) did not stir till the day following: and however his main hopes of victory consisted in the quickness of his motion, he marched but slowly; fearing peradventure ambushes in an unknown Country, or least he might be obliged, in the absence of his Naval forces, to bear the brunt of the war alone. The noise therefore of this invasion fled to *Copenhagen* before him, and filled the Court and City with the terrour of so imminent a danger. All was full of fear and confusion, and the people then at divine service (for it was upon the Sabbath day in the morning) struck with the apprehensions of their approaching ruine, which they look'd upon as infallible, if the enemies made that hast they might, and assaulted the City, then destitute of order or forces to withstand them. The flight of the country-people, who came flocking into the town, magnifying the number and progress of the enemy according as their fears suggested, redoubled the terrour; in so much, that all dreading their destruction as unavoidable; bethought how best to secure themselves. Some hid their best moveables where they best could, whilst others searched about, whether they might best flye and hide themselves. Many preferring their personal security to that of their Country, cried out for peace, and a recourse to the conquerours clemency: but the wisest, and they were but few, perswaded a vigorous resistance, and exhort the rest rather to commit their common safety to God, and a just defence, than to the arbitration of a cruel and insulting enemy. Neither were the disorders and apprehensions at Court inferiour to these, until the King himself, having rejected the advice of those, who would have perswaded him to preserve himself for better times, by a timely retreat into *Norway*, or *Holland*, had declared, with a magnanimity truly royal; That he would live and dye in his Nest, and not survive the fate and glory of his Country. The following letter, though not signed, fell as was informed into his hands, the which as being of an extraordinary nature, merits to be inserted; it was as followeth.

Sir, Notwithstanding my being engaged in the service of your mortal Enemy, I am a very affectionate well-wisher to your Majesty. I am very confident that the King of Sweden designs to take Zeland from you, and consequently your crown, I humbly desire your Majesty to save your Royal person, the Queen, and the Princes your children, by a quick retreat into Norway, or elsewhere, until this tempest be over, and some happier opportunity present it self, for the recovery of your kingdom. Save your self Sir, that you may not fall into his hands, preserve your self for better times, and believe the counsel of him who is your Majesties most humble servant.

I will leave the disquisition of the author, the contriver, and the intrigue of this letter to the curious, and only add, that if he had followed the advice of most part of his Council, he had

hearkened to that of his kind enemy, and lost his kingdom into the bargain. But he being more generously resolved, did by his example raise the drooping spirits of them about him, which quickly appeared in their countenances, and expressions. Shame and emulation, and a desire of revenge, had mastered those weaker passions their fear had begot in them before; so that at present there was none amongst them, that did not seem full of courage and indignation, against the unjust proceedings of the enemy. The Court being thus appeased, and confirmed; the King commanded the trumpet to sound to horse, and quick messengers to be dispatched into the Country, to alarm those horse that were quartered in the neighboring Villages, and order their sudden coming to Town, which they did with so much diligence, that they prevented the enemies speed and precaution. In the mean time, the Magistrates and chief amongst the Citizens were sent for, and enquiry made, what was to be expected from them in so imminent a danger? The King having aggravated the ambition and perfidie of the Enemy, added, that they were not now to fight for the recovery of what they had lost, but lest they should lose (which he abhor'd to think on) what they had yet remaining, and become the prey and scorn of their insulting foes. The Lord *Gerstorff* great Master of the kingdom, proceeded to tell them, That there was nothing more glorious for generous spirits, than bravely to maintain that duty, and that fidelity, which they owed by nature and oath, to their King and Country. They were now reduced to that extremity, that they must defend themselves or perish; there being no mean betwixt the Enemies ambition, and their slavery. He did therefore exhort them in his Majesties name, to unity and concord amongst themselves, to fight like men, to arm all that could bear arms, and to refuse no labour, nor nothing that might be required from them for their common defence. The Enemy was not so formidable as some men believed, nor their condition so despicable, but that they might yet hope for an issue suitable to the equity and innocency of their cause, if they did not betray it by their own dissentions and infidelity. There were some who had apprehended, that the Citizens fears might surmount their loyalty; which they having understood, protested by the mouth of their chief Burgomaster *John Nansen*, that they would expose their lives and whatever was dear to them, for the defence of their King and Country; and by an example worthy to be transferred to posterity cried out, *They would dye his Majesties subjects.*

Monfieur *Van Benning* Pensionair of *Amsterdam*, then Embassadour from the States General of the *United Low-Countries*, at Court, did by his presence and authority (which the King of *Sweden* complained of afterwards, as discrepant from the function of an Embassadour) extreamly raise the minds of all, and exhorting them to a brave defence, assured them of speedy succors and relief out of the *Low-Countries*, in case they held out but till it was possible for a fleet to come to their assistance. He visited the guards in person,

person, and throwing moneys by handful amongst the soldiers, did much quicken them by his liberality and promises. But that he might hasten those ayds he had so seriously assured them off, and lest his passage might be cut off by the *Swedish* fleet already in sight, he immediately went on board, and set sail for *Holland* in a man of war, which lay ready in the haven for his transport. *Owen Foel* a *Danish* Gentleman, was sent by the King along with him, but deputed to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, to complain of this unjust invasion of the *Swedes*, and to invite him also to his ayd and succour. These Embassadors toucht upon the Coasts of *Norway* in their passage, and landing at *Flecker*, acquainted the Governour by word of mouth, and the Kings Officers farther off by Letters, of the renewing of the wars in *Denmark*, admonishing them to stand upon their guards, as well against the surprises, as the open violence of the *Swedes*; now their declared enemies. Whilest *Van Benning* hastens towards *Holland*, struggling against the winds, the rumour of the *Swedish* invasion flew thither before him, and having gained belief with them that were most concerned, the States voted a fleet and 2000 foot, for the present relief of *Copenhagen*. *Van Benning's* arrival quickned these preparations, for having demonstrated the danger *Denmark* was in, and the Kings earnest desires for the hastening of the succours, added, that it was impossible for the City to hold out much above six weeks.

Hereupon all imaginable speed and care was taken, to forward the designed supplies, neither could the *Swedish* Ministers then in *Holland*, with all their skill (however they magnified their Masters affection and amity towards the States General) divert them from their taken resolution. Nay, the King himself having dismissed above seventy of their Merchants ships, which he had surprised in the *Sound*, wrote to them the 21 of *August* out of his Camp, in which *Aug.* Letters, after an enumeration of the reasons, which he said, obliged *21.* him to continue the war, and mention of the ancient confederations betwixt the Crown of *Sweden*, and the *United Low-Countries*, he did solemnly profess, that he desired nothing more than the liberty of Commerce, and an unviolable friendship with the free *Belgick* Provinces, which he was for his part resolved to persist in, and testifie by all arguments of candor and reality, if they on their parts would but do the same, as it became true confederates and friends. But all this was to no purpose; for the States sensible what danger might accrew to their Eastern traffick (nay many of them judged it quite ruined if *Denmark* were lost (and the very ship-fraught alone was estimated at three hundred and fixty thousand pound sterling a year) if the two *Northern Crowns* were united under one Prince, resolved to hinder it by ballancing their forces, and aiding still the weaker; so that they did not only not change their resolutions, but commanded the voted supplies to be made ready with all imaginable speed; and in the mean time, sent several expresses to the King of *Denmark*, to assure him of the sudden comming of their
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fleet and forces to his assistance. All this while the *Danes* were busie in fortifying their Town, they repair their old works, raise new ones where they were defective, cleanse and deepen their moats, and strengthen their bulworks and curtains, with cannons, and mortar-pieces, and great granadoes (lying here and there upon the parapets to be rowled down into the moat upon occasion, a very useful and destructive invention) and several other offensive and defensive arms. No age, no sex, no quality or order of men were exempt from labour, but all were imployed in working or watching, the publike danger they were all in, requiring their whole endeavours for their common safety. The Kings example and presence encouraged all men; for he seldom quitted the walls, spending the day amongst his soldiers and workmen, and that part of the night which his repose required, in his pavillion upon the ramparts, so that there was no body of so abject a spirit, that did not willingly wot travails and dangers, where his Prince was his spectator and companion. Neither did the King confine his care to *Copenhagen* only: *Cronenberg* being looked upon as the most considerable fortress of the Kingdom, as it really is, was judged worthy his best thoughts. He therefore sent one *Benfield* thither, and joyning one *Bruno* and *Bilde* in Commission with him, seriously recommended the conservation of that important place, to their valour and fidelity.

Necessity and Despair, those two powerful movers, obliged the *Danes* to these unmutual preparations for war; but the distrust they had of their own affairs, made them wish for peace, for their City was not well fortified, the succours they were to expect were far off, their Gaution did not exceed twelve hundred effective soldiers, and the Citizens, as it is usual in such encounters, however numerous, were but few in force and resolution. For these reasons,

- Aug. 8. *Magnus Hoeg*, and *Christian Skiel*, two Senators of the Kingdom, were dispatched in Embassie to the King of *Sweden*, the same day he arrived, with instructions to divert him if it were possible from his present expedition, or delay him from his more active prosecution of it. The day following they met him at *Ringstead*, but being it was late, they were not admitted to audience before next morning, and that then not without much difficulty. Being introduced into the Kings presence, they told him in a long speech (whereof this is the sum) that the wars betwixt the two Kings, had not only been composed and ended by the peace of *Roischkild*, but what ever had been acted in the same forgot and forgiven, by a solemn act of oblivion on both sides: But being some doubts and difficulties were risen, concerning the true sense of the Articles of the said Pacification, there had been another Treaty held at *Copenhagen*, for explication of the first, wherein all the aforesaid difficulties had been removed, and every thing else so agreed upon, that there seemed nothing more to be desired. These things being thus, the King their Master could not choose but wonder, especially being he had on his part performed every thing he had promised, to see himself
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and his dominions, and that without any denunciation of war at all, invaded in a hostile manner. Lastly, having extolled their Princes desire for Peace, they added, they had been sent to his Majesty for that purpose, and to remove any obstacles or mis-understandings that might occasion a new breach. They therefore desired Commissioners might be appointed to treat with them, not doubting but to be able to demonstrate abundantly, that their King was not only a stranger to all thoughts of war, but extremely desirous of peace and concord, which he would also (if it might be) always maintain and cherish. The King but little moved with what he heard with patience, having repeated what had happened in the former wars, and former times, added, that he had been more then sufficiently provoked to continue this, by the continual injuries he and his Crown had received from *Denmark*, which did not cease to endeavour his, and his subjects ruine, by their daily practices against them. This he said, sufficiently appeared out of their intercepted letters, by their disturbing of the liberty of Commerce in the *Sund*, by their various obstructing & delaying of the execution of the treaty of *Rosch-kild* (whereby they had hindered the prosecution of his other more weighty designs) and by their refusing to deliver *Carloff* (who had robbed him in *Guinea*) into his hands. He farther complained, of their ill using of his father in law the Duke of *Holstein*, of their refusing to enter into a nearer confederation with *Sweden*, and their denying to lend him ten ships at his request. For these and other causes he had resolved, being also advised to it by his Councel, to continue the war (for so he termed it, urging that a war could not be said to be ended, before the execution of the Treaty that concluded it was completed) and leave the issue of it to God, and his good fortune. The *Danish* Ministers protesting their innocency in all things, replied, that it was not they, being they had performed what ever they were obliged to by the late Treaty, who were the cause of those delays so much complained of but the *Swedes*, who had not made good their promises. They desired those letters so much spoke of might be produced, being they knew nothing of them, and urged that the business of the *Guiney* controversie, was concluded with his Embassadour *Coyet* before he had left *Copenhagen*. As for the Duke of *Holstein*, he had obtained by the *Swedish* interposition, all he could reasonably desire, and as for themselves, their Kingdom was so exhausted, that it was impossible for them either to furnish the desired ships, or to engage themselves in a more active confederation. They hoped therefore, that his Majesty would not refuse an equitable Treaty, beseeching him (as they had done before) to appoint Commissioners to treat with them, whereby the remaining differences if there were any, might be removed, and the flames of a new war, which could not prove but ruinous to both sides, be extinguished; before they broke out to further violence. The King made no great return to these passionate expressions of the Embassadors, though mingled with tears, but demanded them, whether

ther they for their particular did desire his protection? which they refusing, it was told them they had their last answer. The Embassadors seeing the King inexorable, took leave of him and returned to their lodgings, where they were followed by Marshal *Oxenstiern*, and the Count of *Slippenbach*, by order from the King, who asked them whether they had any thing more to propose, besides what they had said to his Majesty? from whom they were sent to them, to know their farther desires. The *Danes* having repeated in substance, what they had delivered to the King, were answered by *Slippenbach* in his Majesties sense, adding moreover, that the *Danes* had by their delays, occasioned not only the increase of the *Pole*, *Muscovite*, and *Brandenburg's* powers, but the precipitate election of the *Roman Emperor*, as also the confederations of those Princes against *Sweden*. It was well known how precious a thing time was, not to be recalled by the Gods themselves, and being *Denmarks* fall seemed now inevitable, and at hand, they should choose the best means to save themselves. The King of *Sweden* was Master of the field, and would suddenly be of their fortresses and towns too, they should therefore have recourse to their sovereign remedy. What could it signifie to subjects how their Prince was called? or of what use was the sound of a few syllables, it was therefore equal to them, whether *Charles* or *Frederick* were their King. There was one God who was the disposer of Empires, and it seemed *Danmark's* fatal hour was now drawing near. He would notwithstanding, pray to the King of Kings, that so noble a City as *Copenhagen* was, might not be destroyed, and so many thousands of persons involved in it's ruines. The *Swedes*, when they had conquered and taken possession of the whole Kingdom, would abundantly manifest the justice of their proceedings to all men. The Embassadors being dismissed with this severe message, were upon the point to depart, when it was told them again, that if they were solicitous about the event of this present expedition, they should make such propositions to the *Swedish* Embassadors, then residing in *Copenhagen*, as might be conformable to the present state of their affairs, and the condition they were then in. The Embassadors being returned to the City, and having acquainted their King with what had passed in their negotiation, applied themselves to the *Swedish* Ambassador *Monf. Bielke*, then in restraint, demanding him, whether he had any instructions to treat about peace? which he denying, they resolved, as they wrote in their letters to the *French* Embassador then in the *Swedish* Camp, to commit their cause and its decision to God alone. The said *Swedish* Embassador, was in the mean time in no little danger through the peoples fury, who believing that he, under the colour of friendship had betrayed them into this war, however he solemnly protested to be altogether a stranger to his Masters present proceedings, and not to have had the least knowledge of this invasion. Which is more then probable, being *Coyes* his Colleague, who was returned to his Master some days before, had left

left papers of consequence, and a good sum of moneys behind him, which fell into the *Danes* hands. But neither these excuses, nor his standing upon his guard in his lodgings, whither all the *Swedes* then in Town were fled for Sanctuary, could have saved him, if the King had not upon his request taken him into his protection, and secured him in *Rosenburg*, a house of pleasure in the Kings garden; where he remained under custody (notwithstanding the *Swedes* objecting of the breach of the law of Nations by his detention) until he was afterward delivered thence by the intercession of the Mediators of *England & Holland*, especially the last. All hopes of Peace being now laid aside, the *Danes* prepare for war with so much the more vigor. They burn the suburbs, which they had hitherto spared, & omitted nothing they thought requisite for their defence. By this time, the *Swedes* troops were advanced within sight of the Town, and seeing the suburbs on fire, could not choose but wonder, that they who but a while since, armed & in a warlike posture, had not refused peace upon such mean conditions, should now unarmed, and destitute of any real force to defend themselves, not despair of their safety. King *Charles* observing the enemies countenance, made a stand till all his army was come up, and then seized upon the two Forts of *Wartow* and *Ladegard*, which joyned by continual works and trenches together, extending also on both sides to the sea, environed the whole suburbs: and now his Navy, consisting of 28 men of War were in sight, and commanded to anchor before the Town, so that the City was environed by sea and land, and shut up from all intercourse from without. But before I begin to describe the particulars of this famous siege, I have thought it not impertinent to say something of the original, increase, and present state of this City, the Metropolitan of *Denmark*, and one of the beautifullest of the whole North.

Copenhagen the royal seat of the *Danish* Kings, called by the inhabitants *Kiøbenhavn*, that is to say, the *Merchants-haven*, is seated upon the East side of the Island of *Zeland*, under the 36 degr. of Northern Latitude. This Town was in its beginnings very mean, a few fishermens Cottages; but in succession of time grew to that greatness, by reason of the excellency of the haven, that it is at this present, most justly ranked amongst the most noble Cities of the North. Many of its Kings, especially *Christian* the fourth, the memory of whose vertues is still cherished by the inhabitants, adorned this their residence with many notable priviledges and publick buildings. This *Christian*, having laid the foundation of a new City in the Isle of *Amack*, joyned it to the old by a bridge, and called it by the name of *Christians-haven*. He built also a goodly Magazine house, and strengthened the City on the Island-side with walls and bulworks, but these fortifications neglected, and well-nigh fallen in the long peace they had enjoyed, were now repaired. The Moats were cleaned and deepned, and new works being added to the old where they were defective, the Land-side was enclosed

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with ten whole, and two half bulworks, the rest of the circumference, lying betwixt the Cittadel and the Western part of the Town, is environed with the sea, which extending it self Southward, divides the Kings Palace, a fabrick of ancient structure, from the Island of *Amack* by a narrow inlet, making the most commodious and capacious haven, as also the most safe against all winds of the whole *Baltick* sea. *Copenhagen* hath as well as other great towns, felt the various vicissitudes of fortune. The *Lubickers* having pillaged it twice, consumed it once with fire. *Farismarus* Prince of *Rugen*, the *Swedes*, and the *Hanse Towns*, ravaged it by turns, though these last, in the year 1427 upon another attempt, were beaten off with much loss. Neither hath this City been only oppressed by strangers, it hath laboured also under the miseries of civil dissensions, for taking part with *Christian* the second against *Frederick*, it was taken by *Frederick*, and in the year 1536, after a years siege, and the calamity of famine and war, forced to surrender it self to *Christian* the third. After that it enjoyed the sweets of peace for a long series of years, until *Charles Gustave* King of *Sweden* made war upon it, who had also subdued it, if the *Dutch*, the *Brandenburgers*, the *Imperialists*, the *Poles*, the *Muscovites*, and almost whole *Europe* had not hastened to its succour, as concerned in its conservation, and rescued it out of the hands of that victorious Prince. But of these in order.

King *Charles* his sea and land forces being, as we have already mentioned, met before the Town, seized upon the Castles of *Wartow*, and *Ladegard*, as also the other out-works, without resistance, for the Citizens solicitous for the main, and not sufficing for all had contracted their forces within their walls. He omitted the sudden assaulting of the City, having been certainly enformed of the enemies desperation and multitude, resolved to perish rather than change master. Being therefore over-born by the advice of his chief Officers, he was forced to prolong the siege, but lest he should leave any place behind him out of his power, he divided his Army, and sent Marshal *Wrangel* with part of it, to besiege the strong Castle of *Cronenburg*, which commands the *Sound*; not absurdly fancying by taking of it, to deter foreign forces from coming to relieve *Copenhagen*, or at least, to be the better able to hinder and oppose them if they should attempt it.

Whilest both parties were thus struggling in *Denmark*, the wars broke out in other places with no less violence; for *Charles* had before he had left *Holstein*, given and sent secret instructions to his Commanders and Governours, that they should assault and oppress the *Danes* now his enemies, by sea and land, wherever they could meet with them. Hereupon many eminent men, some Governours of Provinces and places, and amongst others Monsieur *Gedde* the High Admiral of the Kingdom, were intercepted here and there, whilest they dreamt of nothing less than a new war. *Rensburg*, *Cremper*, and other fortresses of *Holstein* were attempted, but

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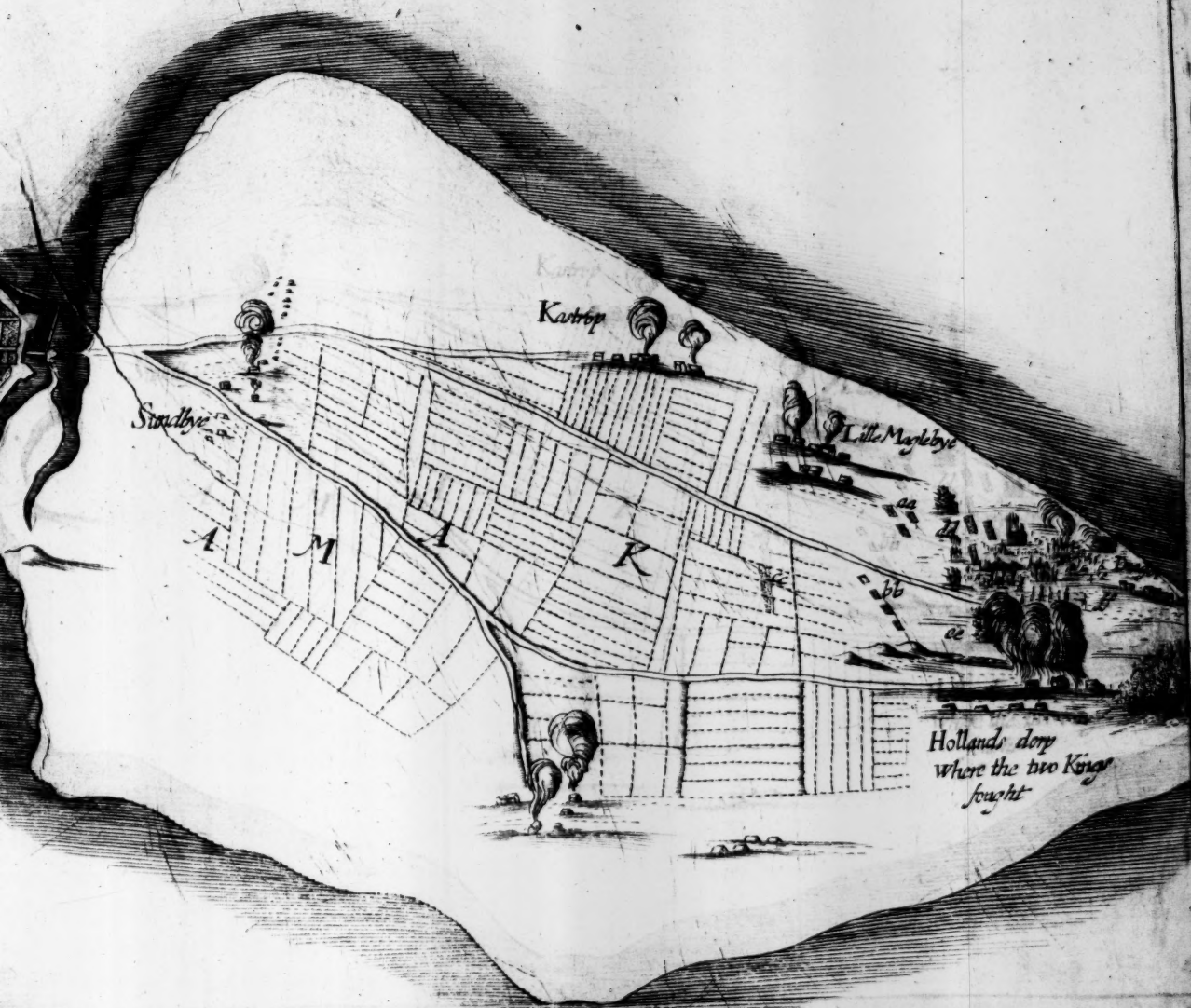
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by the Danes araaa the Swedes appear
Christians Haven D the Pallace F Cittadel G
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The Swedes fleite

A horizontal number line with arrows at both ends. It has four major tick marks labeled 50, 100, 200, and 300. Below the line, the text "Scale of 300 Reds" is written.





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but not surpris'd, escaping for the most part, the force and practises of the enemy, by the vigilance of their Governours. Only the King of Denmark's Regiment of guards, which was enquartered in the Marshes of *Holstein* was oppress'd, and Duke of *Lüneburg*, the Queens brother, was taken as he sail'd to *Lubeck*, but being known to be a Prince of the Empire, he was dismissed, and permitted to continue his journey. Many ships, as well men of War as Merchant-vessels were intercepted, and many other losses were sustained and suffered, by the secure *Danes*. But to return to *Copenhagen*, where we left the *Danes* busie in putting themselves into a posture of defence, and the *Swedes* in taking up their quarters before the severall avenues of the Town. The flower of their Infantry lay before the Western Port, the North gate was but loosely blocked up, and at a distance, but the Eastern was guarded as neighbouring upon *Wartow*, with severall Companies of Foot. The Horse divided into eight bodies or great squadrons, (the right Wing extending towards the *Hollands* village, the left behind *Wartow*, and the main body at *Utersleve*) took up the whole Campania, so that the Town and all the avenues, except the passage into *Amack*, were wholly shut up. The *Swedes* having thus dispos'd of their quarters, began their approaches towards the West Port, being secured on the right hand by the sea, & on the left by *St. George's lake*. The *Danes* observing the advance of the enemy, armed two great boats or lighters, which they call *Prames*, with men and cannon, and bringing them by sea near the right side of their trenches, did extremely gall them with their great shot: Neither were the Pioneers able to avoid their strokes, for what way soever the works were directed, these moving Castles did still follow and flank them with their un-erring cannonades. The *Swedes* to prevent or revenge this mischief, rais'd a batterie against these *Prames*, but could not with all their skill oblige them to quit their stations, for lying flat upon the water, the enemies shot flew over or fell short of them, whilst they lined cannon-proof on the side next the Fort, shot as out of a secure Fortreits. These boats were of great use to the beleaguered, and could not be oblig'd to remove their stations during the whole siege. The *Danes* who were still mending, and patching, and perfecting their Fortifications, strengthened the North and East gates with Ravelins; the Citadel on the side next the sea, with a half Moon; the rest of the walls where they seem'd lowest and weakest with other works, and the whole Parapet of the Ramparts quite round, as also the entire Moat of the Town, with stakes and pallisadoes; whereby they secured themselves as well against the surpris'es, as assaults of the enemy. But King *Frederick* thinking no fortifications equal to the affection of his subjects, resolv'd to oblige them more strictly to himself, by new and unhop'd for concessions; for judging wisely, that they who have most to lose, have most reason to defend themselves, he granted them, amongst others, these following Priviledges. 1 That *Copenhagen* should be a free
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City. 2 That it should be endowed with Priviledges necessary for the encrease of Traffick. 3 That it should be one of the States of the Kingdom, and enjoy a vote in all those deliberations which concerned the publick good of the Kingdom. 4 That the Citizens should have power to purchase any Lands and Lordships whatsoever, and enjoy and possess them, with the same rights that the Nobles did. 5 That they should not be burthened with any impositions the Nobles did not bear, and not that but by publick consent. 6 That they should be free from all contributions or enquarterings whatsoever in times of peace, but should in time of war bear the publick burthens equal with the other states. 7 And lastly, that all the Citizens children, whether Ecclesiastick or Civil, should enjoy the freedom of being admitted to Honors and publick Offices, equally with Noblemens children, provided they rendered themselves fit and capable for them. The *Swedes* having advanced their trenches towards the Western Port, winding and turning as the manner is, to cover themselves from the enemies shot, st engthened them with a Redoubt, the better to secure their Watchmen: but the *Danes* rushing out of their receptacles with two troops of Horse and about 200 foot, most of them being Sea-men, armed with brown Bills and morning Stars, fell upon them with such hast and violence, that they did not only beat them out of their said approaches and Redoubt, but having slain or taken all they met with, returned in triumph into the Town, with the loss only of one Captain, and three common soldiers. The besieged raised with this little success, began to hope for better fortune, and look upon themselves as not wholly lost, nor altogether unequal to their enemies. And this made them reject the *French* Embassadors letters, brought the same day into the Town, inviting them to an accommodation with the *Swedes*, and that they should propose conditions suitable to their present exigencies, and the desperate estate they were then in. The day following, the *Swedes* ran two approaches more towards the Gate, but fortified their brinks with crossed pallisadoes or twine pikes, against the sudden sallies of the besieged. They could not advance their trenches with that ease they at first imagined, by reason of the moistness of the earth in some places, which they did yet overcome by dreyning the water, and fastening the loose earth with bowes and branches. There remained still some unburnt houses, by favour whereof, they (hiding themselves in their ruins) endeavoured by their frequent shooting, to beat the soldiers and labourers out of their works, which they were building before the Gate, which they yet could not do, being themselves very much annoyed out of the tower behind the said Gate, by the enemies muskatoons. To remedy this, they raised a battery of five guns against the said Tower, which King *Frederick* observing, commanded the Tower to be rased and thrown down, lest its ruines and shivered pieces, might do more harm than the enemies bullets. The Moat on that side of the town, was not so well furni-

Aug.
13.

furnished with water as was desired, which obliged the *Danes* to convey a quantity of it thither out of the Sea by Engines, and Conduits, raising it first on high by pumps and mills, and then leading it by pipes into the said Moat. They forced such *Swedes* as they had prisoners to labour in these works, which was revenged by the besiegers, who on the other side compelled the *Danes* to work in their trenches: The miserable of both parties, being necessitated to endeavour the ruine of what they desired to conserve most, only with this difference, that the *Swedes* although forced to work were yet secure, whilst the *Danes* were not only constrained to labour, but that also in great danger of their lives, by their friends continual shooting out of the town. The *Swedes* plaid hotly upon the Port and the tower, though to no great purpose; by reason of the firmness of the one, being well lined within, and the ruines of the other, it being already thrown down. It is remarkable, that the statue of *Christian* the fourth, which was over the gate, was not injured at all, neither now, nor during the whole siege, for all the enemies incessant shooting; which was looked upon as a good Omen by the besieged. But King *Frederick* himself did but narrowly escape so, for whilst he stood upon the battery at the West gate, a random bullet, out of one of the broken houses next the walls, shot one of his train close to him. The same day the King put out a Proclamation, wherein, after exaggerating the injustice of the *Swedish* arms, he invites all honest *Germans* to abandon their service, promising every horseman 50 crowns, and every footman ten, but few or none listened to it, most soldiers following rather the success than the justice of arms. The *Swedes* did not only attack the town from without, but endeavoured also to incommode it within, which they did in a great measure, by breaking and cutting the pipes which conveyed fresh water into it; but this evil (the greatest that can happen in besieged places) was remedied by the continual rain and wetness of the season, so that the Citizens were abundantly refreshed with this celestial moisture, which they received and conserved in Cisterns, and other receptacles for their use. The King had also commanded several pits to be digg'd in several places of the town, which was done with so good success, that several fountains and veins of fresh water were discovered, within four or five foot of the superficies of the earth. By this time the *Swedes* were by their windings and turnings, advanced within musket-shot of the Moat, which as it straitned the besieged, so it put them upon thoughts of obstructing these dangerous approaches. They therefore resolved upon a second sally, as the only means to hinder the enemies progress, which they were highly encouraged to by their former success, and the apprehension of their present danger. All the horte commanded by *Guldenlew*, and seven hundred foot, consisting of Students, Sea men, Artificers, and some few Soldiers, were ordered for this exploit, which they performed with so much quickness and courage, that they were upon the enemy before ---

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Banner, who, commanded in the approaches, could put himself into a posture to resist them. The suddenness of the action facilitated the victory, and made it rather an execution than a combat, and yet the *Swedes* made what resistance was possible : But being surpris'd and in so unequal a place (for it is an error to think to maintain trenches against a resolved attack) they were forced to flye. A company of *Norway* boores did wonders with their morning stars (being clubs armed with great nails at their stump end) upon the *Swedes* that were below them in their trenches ; and all did so well, that the enemy was absolutely routed, slain or taken ; and all their trenches, approaches, batteries, redoubts, &c. mastered, slighted, and broken down. There remained yet 150 *Swedes* in a Sconce upon the right hand, who seeing the slaughter which was made of their men, and fearing the same misfortune, tamely surrendred themselves and their Fort, to Lieutenant General *Schack* Governour of the City, who had threatned them with present death, if they made the least resistance. These and some more prisoners together, with five pieces of cannon, with the *German* Emperours arms upon them, which were upon the nearest battery, were brought into the town in triumph. The other great Guns which had been planted against the Prames, were dismounted and nailed, and thrown into the ditch of the old works. In a word the victory was entire, and for all the enemies hast, who came flocking out of their Camp to the relief of their approaches (though too late) secure ; For *Guldenlew* and *Schack* were no less diligent in bringing their men off in safety, than they had been dexterous in the management of their sally : so that the *Swedes* had only the regret of seeing their men slain, their approaches ruined, and so signal a loss to pass unrevenged. They lost in this encounter about five hundred men. Those who were taken prisoners being most *Germans* and *Poles*, took pay in King *Fredericks* service, a thing usual amongst those mercenaries, who warring only for a present subsistence, will easilier change Master, than endure the penury and miseries of a nasty prison. The *Danes* did not lose above thirty of theirs in this sally, besides as many wounded, some whereof were destroyed by the blowing up of the enemies gunpowder, which taking fire by the neglect of a *Danish* soldier, the sparkles of whose match had fallen into it, all that provision which the *Swedes* had there for battering of the town, vanished in an instant. It is believed, that if the *Danes* had vigorously pursued their advantage, and had broken the *Ladegard* bridge which they attempted, but too late, they had not only hindered the *Swedes* horse from approaching the town in any reasonable time, for they must have gone far about, but have taken all the enemies cannon. But they did not sally out with such vast hopes, and many things do occur in such encounters, that cannot be seen, and consequently not provided for. The *Danes* however satisfied with the success of the day, found the night no less favourable. They had indeed employed their utmost endeavours, since the first instant of

of the enemies invasion, in rigging of their fleet, they had also mann'd and made ready (though with much difficulty) six or seven good men of war, but when they should use them, they did not know where or how to employ them, for the *Swedes* were too strong at Sea, and it seemed too dangerous, to hazard the loss of so many brave sea-men, which made up a great part of the forces of the town, without probability of success. They therefore contented themselves to have them in a readiness, as occasion might serve, which now in some sort did present it self. The *Swedes* had made provision of boats and other small vessels, for the transporting of part of their forces into *Amack*; these lay at anchor near *Kalleboe*, not far from the town, and secure, as not fearing any attempt upon them by sea. But *Nicholas Held* and *Bredal* two good sea Commanders, having mann'd, & arm'd a good number of their long boats, stole upon them and surpris'd them a little before day. The *Swedes* being thus circumvented, made little or no resistance, so that all their vessels (except a small ship of war, which cutting its cables saved it self by flight) were taken, stranded, sunk, or consumed with fire. Some *Held* brought into the town with him, and the rest which he could not by reason of the shallows, he burnt, having saved the men, cannon, and whatever other provision was portable, before he destroyed them. The two Kings were spectators of this nocturnal combat, though at a distance, both imagining the success according to his hopes and fears. But *Held's* return with five Lighters or *Portoons*, and many other conquered smaller boats, put the business out of controversy, and King *Frederick* into such a transport of joy, that he received *Held* (leaping out of his boat) as one that had well deserved of him, and gave him his hand to kils, publicly commending his courage and conduct, as a testimony of his valour, and an incitement to others. The *Danes* in the desperate condition they were in upon the first appearance of the enemy before the town, added their supplications to God, to the arms they bore, as the most efficacious means for their deliverance. Their Churches and Altars were crowded by their women and children, whilst the men each in his station upon the walls, stormed heaven by their prayers and intercessions. These holy employments were the daily and hourly exercises of the besieged, at their spare times, which were now by the Kings command turned into thanksgivings for these two signall, and in the condition they were, very great victories.

The *Swedes* being rendred more wary by so many losses, omitted the present attacking of the town, to secure and fortifie their own quarters; they therefore strengthen the out-works the Citizens had formerly quitted; with pallisadoes they turn their breast-works against the town, and in them, and their ditches or moats (dividing them near the sea, and cutting them off from the rest of the said works) they made a quarter large enough to contain all their foot, and all their instruments of war. This quarter was strengthened within with

Aug.
24.

a ravelin, and on the side towards the fields with a *tenaille*, or tongue; and being also seated betwixt the sea and St. George's lake, was secured on the back side by the right wing of horse, which lay in the *Hollands* village. The rest of the horse (except the guards disposed of upon the several avenues of the town) were enquartered betwixt *Uttersleve* and *Wartow* in the open field, ready in case the Citizens should sally again, to oppose them upon their first appearance. The *Danes* were no less busie on their side; they cut down all the trees which were in the Queens garden or else where planted, as well for ornament as use, without their gates; they burnt such edifices as were yet standing, and level their very rubbish with the ground, lest the enemy might find any safety or shelter behind them. Things being thus ordered on both sides, the *Danes* full of hopes, and encouraged by their former good fortunes, prepare for another sally, but being upon the point to march, they were stayed by the sudden appearance of the *Swedish* horse descending the hill from *Walby*. This unexpected sight did not only break their present design, but filled them with amazement and jealousy, whilst most of them apprehended there might be treason amongst themselves, and a secret correspondence with the enemy from within. But not knowing how that might be, the town being so well guarded, and at a loss who to suspect, an uncertain rumour was spread abroad, that a standard had been seen lift up, and displayed upon *Ulfeld's* house, which all concluded was done to give the enemy notice of what passed in the town, by orders from that traitor (as they called him) to his King and Country. But the said lodgings being visited and searched, and some who were suspected examined and imprisoned, though nothing got out of them, this fear vanished. But the true reason of this discovery was not known till afterwards. There was a Wind-mill not far from the town, which over-looked it, though at a distance, the *Swedes* having their sentinels day and night there, could (though confusedly) by the help of perspectives, see what was done upon the walls, which they within were not at first aware of. The *Swedes* having secured their quarters, began to infest the town by shooting multitudes of glowing bullets into it, especially by night, to add terror to the harm they might do; and indeed the fear was greater than the mischief, for the King having at the beginning of the siege, appointed three hundred men to guard the several streets of the town, as well against such accidents as casual fires, had abundantly provided for any harm that way; which order had that also of good in it, that the other Citizens and soldiers who were appointed for defence of the ramparts, being strictly enjoined not to quit their stations in any case whatsoever, were less solicitous for their own dwellings, being secure in the others care. These men therefore being provided with great hooks, great tongs made like mens fingers at the ends, and other such instruments to handle these fire-balls, easily prevented their mischief, so that there was no material harm

harm done, either by them, or by the granadoes thrown into the town, during the whole Seige. And now the *Swedes* began to approach again, but with more circumspection then at first, for they built a large square fort, to defend their trenches, and making use of *St. George's* dike, fortifie it with a breast work and pallisadoes, and having raised a battery for two and twenty pieces of Cannon upon it, began to thunder upon the remains of the Tower, upon the *Helmer* bullwork and opposite *Curtain*, endeavouring by that violence to dismount the Cannon upon the walls. They also made another battery in the *Ladegard* fort, of nine Guns, out of which they shot (not only bullets) but fire-balls into the City. The fortifications at *Wartow* being open towards the town, were shut up with new breast-works, and further strengthened with twelve pieces of Ordnance. The besieged had ordered two other Prames with good Cannon in them, to flank and defend the East side of the town, which they did with so much obstinacy, that the incessant violence of the guns out of this sconce, could not oblige them to quit their stations; the covers indeed of these flat boats were beaten down, and that was all the harm was done them, which they sufficiently revenged by dismounting some of the adverse cannon, and killing several of their men. The *Danes* seeing the enemies order and approaches, and seeing no means to disturb their advance but by sallies, resolved yet again to try their fortune that way. They stole out of the North gate, with four hundred horse and foot, and falling with great hast and resolution upon the enemies post, on the other side the *Bibling* Lake, beat them from it at first onset, but being frighted by their horse which hastened to their succours, they were forced to retire towards the walls again, leaving behind them one Captain, and fifteen or sixteen common soldiers. This did not daunt them so, but they would hazard another combat, which five hundred of them rushing upon the adverse approaches, performed with much resolution. They indeed routed these next to them, as it is usual in sudden sallies at first, but these run-aways did but save themselves in their sconces, whereby they not only eluded the endeavours of their pursuers, but being suddenly re-inforced from the neighbouring stations, forced them back; mortally wounding two of their Colonels, *Urne* and *Bremer*, who died of their hurts the following day. King *Fredrick* escaped also narrowly that same day: for having stood near the West port a good while to see the skirmishing without, he had no sooner changed place, but Col. *Lange* stepping into it, was shot through the breast with a musket bullet, whereof he died some few days after. Neither is this the only danger the King hath been in, for Providence (who hath a peculiar care of Princes) protected him from another no less eminent, some time before; He had no sooner removed himself from leaning upon a wall at the same West port, but a musket bullet slapt in that very place, where he had rested his head but a moment before. The *Danes* seeing they could do no more good by their sal-

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lies,

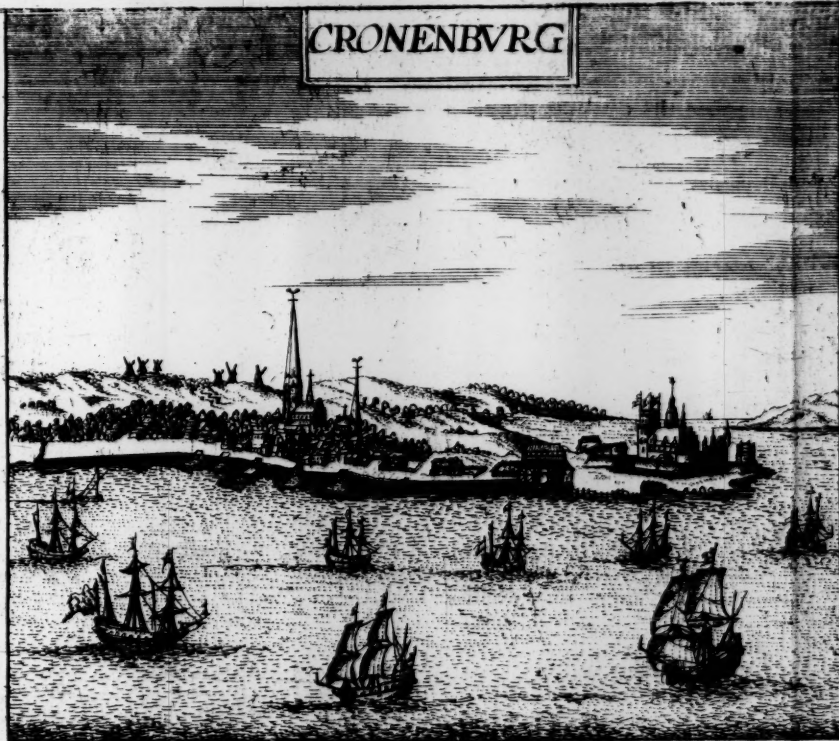
Aug.
30.

lies, by reason of the enemies vigilance and strength, opposed new works to their approaches; they made a Ravelin upon the Curtain next the Western gate, with a covered way which extended to both sides the said gate, and strengthened the *Helmer* Bulwork, the weakest place of the whole town, by reason of the sharpness of the angle, and the length of the Curtain Northward, exceeding musket shot with another Ravelin, against the enemies approaches, which they advanced upon the Dike, betwixt the *Bebling* and *St. Georges* lake. The *Swedes* had likewise omitted nothing for securing of their approaches, they raised another redoubt in the highway, and joyned all their quarters with lines of communication. The cannon thundred perpetually on both sides, and scarce a day past without skirmishing, though with no notable advantage for either party. The City had the worst of it, for by this time provisions grew very dear, the publike magazines were empty, and there was no monies in the treasury, so that private men were forced to support the publick charges, by enquartering and feeding the soldiery. There was indeed store of wine, of oyl, and of corn, but little or no butter, fresh meats, or fuel; what there was, was registred, as well the wants of the poor, as the better provisions of the richer Citizens: the hay for the horses was divided, to each trooper his share a part, for fear the fire might consume the whole if kept together, and the gunpowder was for the same reason, disposed of into several quarters of the town. The besieged bore these hardships with much constancy, being chiefly encouraged by the example of the great ones, especially the King himself; who refusing those refreshments which distinguish Princes from the vulgar, was content to share with the soldiers in all their hardships. The *Swedish* fleet was by this increased, with a supplement of six men of war; they had sunk several old vessels in the entry of the haven of *Copenhagen*, to hinder the passage; but yet they could not either do that, or watch so narrowly, but several messengers and boats, and some little provisions out of the *Isles*, stole into the town. These brought the glad tydings of the preparations in the *United Low-Countries* for their relief, of the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s marching into *Holstein* with the *Imperial* and *Polish* forces, and how that the *Swedes* had surpris'd nothing in that Country upon their first breach, save the Regiment of Guards already mentioned. Theis news did indeed much quicken the besieged, until the fatal surrender of *Cronenburg* had like to have sunk them. But we will leave them a while to their grief, well-nigh despair, with the apprehensions they had of the woful consequences of this loss; and deliver in short, the story of the taking of this important Fortress.

Field-Marshal *Wrangel*, having shared the Army with his King upon their first arrival in *Denmark*, was sent as we have already mentioned by him, to besiege and reduce *Cronenburg*, with all imaginable industry and celerity, as knowing of what consequence the taking of this considerable Castle would be to his interest and reputation

CRONENBURG

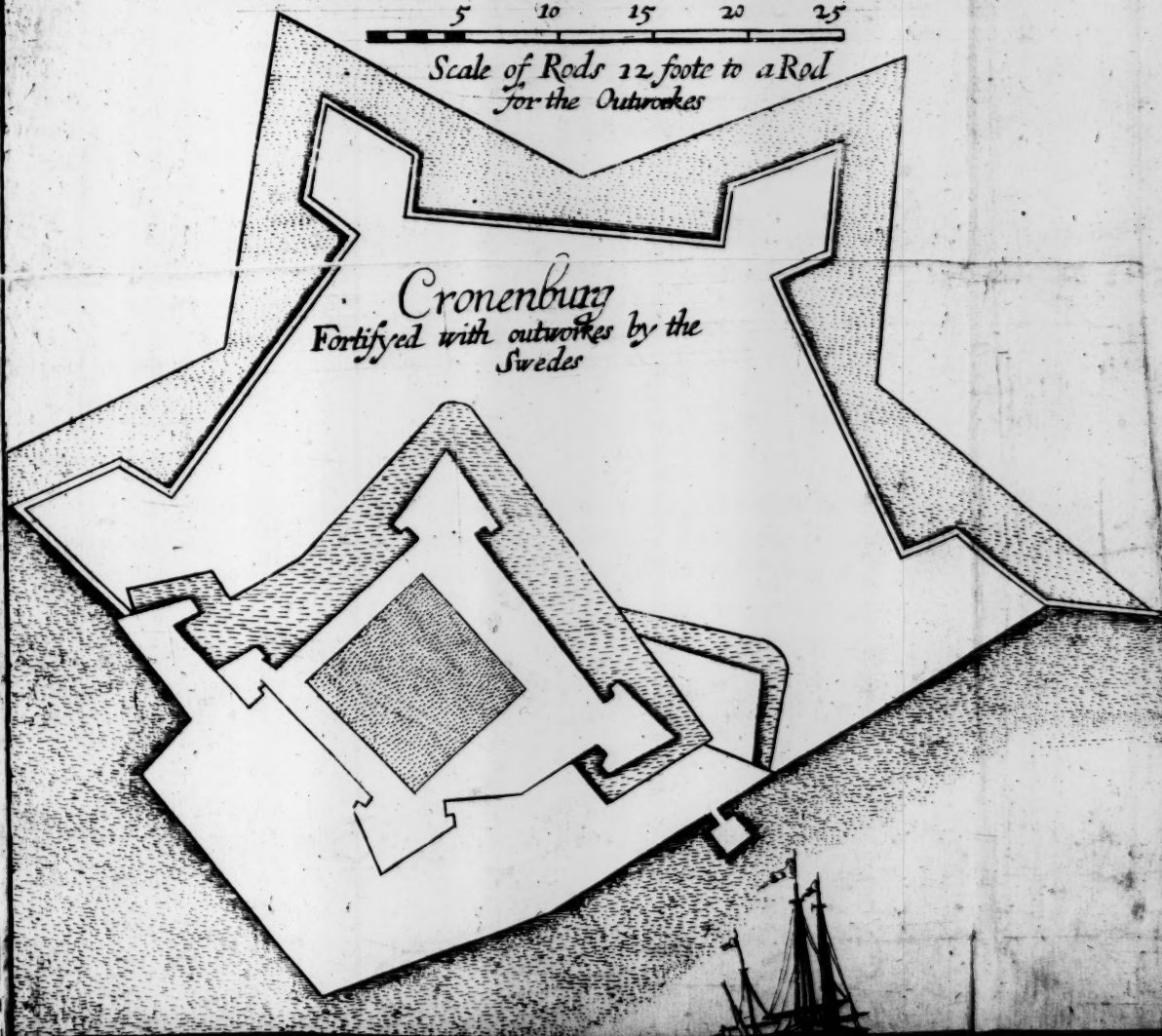
Page 26

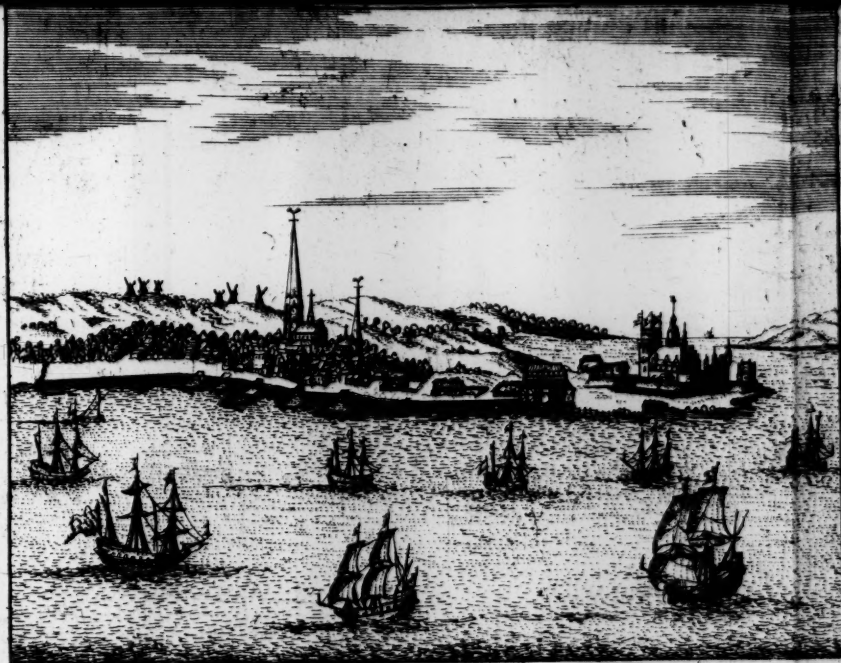


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Scale of Rods 12 fote to a Rod
for the Outworks

Cronenburg
Fortified with outworks by the
Swedes

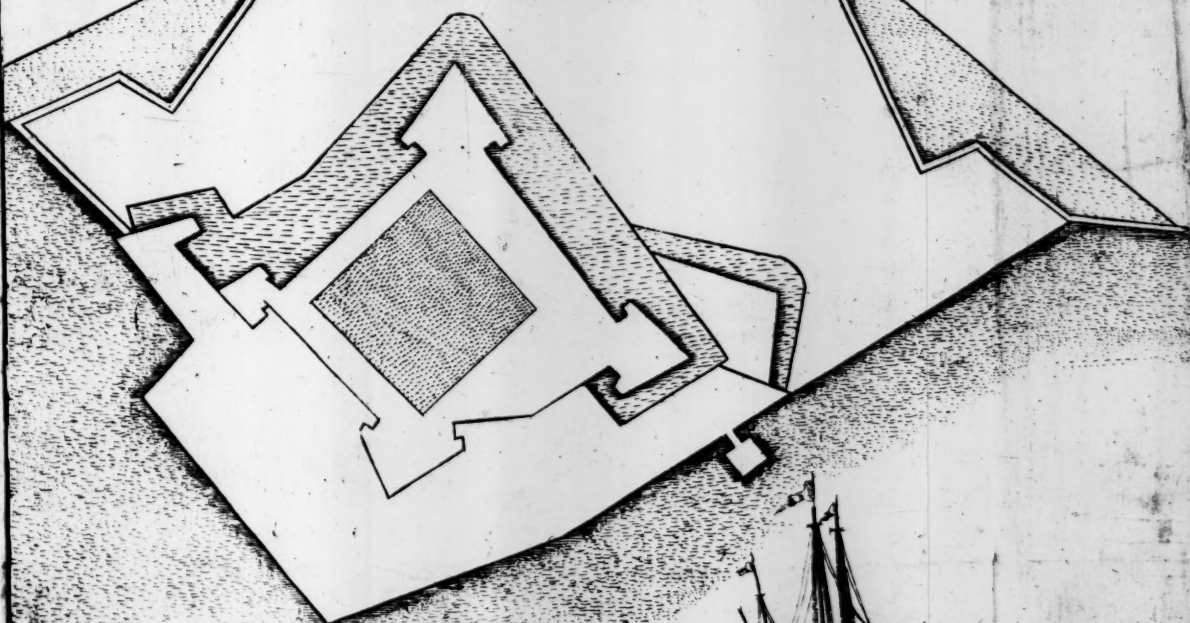




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Scale of Rods 12 foot to a Rod
for the Outworks

Cronenburg
Fortified with outworks by the
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ration abroad. *Wrangel* being come before it, fell immediately to work, and ran his approaches by favour of the Houses in a little time, to the very Moat of the Castle. There were indeed no Out-works to hinder him, and the Garison being surpris'd, had had no time or precaution to ruine the neighbouring houses, though the place was otherwise very defensible, being secured by the Sea on one side, and strengthened with a large Moat and good Walls on the other. Besides this, there were above 80 pieces of Ordnance in it, an immense quantity of Powder, and Soldiers enough, King *Frederick* having sent a recruit of an hundred and sixty fresh men in a Galliot thither by night, out of *Copenhagen*. But all this would not suffice, where fear and despair had the predominance. The *Swedes* encreased these terrours with a stratagem; for giving out they had taken *Copenhagen*, they celebrated their feigned Victory, with the discharges of all their great and small shot, with the noises of their Drums and Trumpets, with Bonfires, and all the imaginable signs of true joy, even to excess. These unusual Triumphs amazed the Garison, but sunk them when they understood the supposed reasons of them, which were transferred to them with all the cunning imaginable. In the neck of this they were summoned by *Wrangel*, and threatned with all sorts of extremities, if they alone (the only remaining place in *Denmark*) should continue to oppose their victorious armies. The Governours (for they were three) too credulous to believe what they feared, and irresolved enough of themselves, supposing all now lost, and themselves not sufficient to resist the fate of their Country, thought it their wisest and safest course to provide for themselves in time. They therefore shamefully delivered up this strong place, upon the sordid suggestions of fear, and a precipitate credulity, though no way necessitated, having scarcely held out three entire Weeks. These three Chiefs, or Triumvirate of Cowards, were afterwards condemned by a Council of War at *Copenhagen*, to lose their heads, but pardoned by the Kings clemency, and the intercession of the Mediators then there. And thus this Castle, the strongest and most considerable Fortrefs of *Denmark*, was taken. *Frederick* the second had built it, laying its foundation by reason of the unstableness of the sand, upon great Oaken Piles or Stakes, and raising the whole Edifice above ground, with stones fetcht from the Isle of *Gotland*. The whole structure was the Product of eight years labour, and a vast expence; which as we have already related, was taken in the space of two and twenty days. The *Swedes* heightned with this Victory, having found an immense quantity of Gunpowder which they much wanted, and great provision of Cannon and other Instruments of War, did hope that *Copenhagen* would quickly follow, which they now resolved (being secure behind) to attack it with their united Forces. They did not omit the divulging and heightening of this Conquest abroad, as well as nearer hand; Mr. *Appleboon* their Resident at the *Hague*, acquaints the States General

Sept. 6.

neral with it, who would have willingly dispensed with so in-officious a civility, though he assured them (provided they would not assist their Enemies) that they had no design to hinder their Navigation and Commerce, or heighten the Customs in those Seas. But their acquainting of the *English* had more of reality and advantage to both, for they offered them the possession of the said Fortrels, if they would joyn with them offensively in this War. In the mean time, they transfer the Toll paid hitherto at *Lanskrown*, by such Ships as passed through the *Sound*, to *Cronenburg* again, and settle there as it were, the seat of their present Empire in *Denmark*. But the news of this unhappy surrender being brought to *Copenhagen*, filled the Town with sorrow and terrour. At first they did not believe it, because they did not desire it, and thought it impossible that so strong a Place should be so soon lost, and therefore the Messenger was thrown into Prison, as suborned and an Impostor. But the Enemies triumphing in their Camp, and other confirmations from other parts, manifested it to be too certain; which so oppressed them with grief, that they reflected upon themselves now as irrecoverably ruined, and there was none amongst them, of so resolved a mind, but was shaken at this fatal Trtuh. For they as well as the rest, feared lest the succors designed for their assistance in the *Low Countries*, terrified with the taking of *Cronenburg*, would either not come, or if they did, intend others danger with more remissness and less care, where their own was so great. But these fears vanished by degrees, and the Citizens re-assumed their wonted courage, being confirmed by the States Generals Letters, that the promised succours were ready, and on their way to their relief, with Orders to break through all obstacles, or whatever might oppose them. Many thought these Letters feigned, and only a Court trick to amuse the people, neither would the incredulous vulgar believe otherwise, until the Letters themselves were publicly read in the Churches, and their signature exposed to the view of all men.

Sept. 6. The *Swedes* had made great provision of all sorts of Engines, fit for assaulting of Towns, which King *Frederick* having notice of, as also that they were at a place called *Fleischba*, on the other side of *Amak*, resolved to attempt the seizing or ruining of them. The most desperate Sea-men were pickt out for this exploit, but the wary Enemy sensible of the danger, prevented it by a timely landing of their Instruments, and withdrawing of themselves. The *Swedish* Fleet was retired from before the Haven of *Copenhagen*, toward the *Sound*, in whose absence, many lesser Vessels, with some provisions, partly out of duty and partly out of desire of gain, (for they made great profit of their Merchandises) stole daily into the Town; twelve Boats with store of refreshments, and a hundred and sixty Soldiers sent from *Zeland*, creeping along their shores, and by favour of the night and lusty rowing, got into the Town in safety: but that which no less amazed than rejoiced the Citi-

Sept.
25.

Citizens, was the unexpected arrival of a *Swedish* Frigate of sixteen Guns, loaden with spoils and prey. The Master and Sea-men were *Swedes*, but it happened, that besides their Lading they had a *Danish* youth (I would I knew his name) and sixty *Zeland* Boores on board. The Vessel having passed the Isle of *Wenen* with full sail, and in sight of *Copenhagen*, the young *Dane* shewing his Countrymen the Town with his finger, told them they had a happy opportunity to deliver themselves out of their slavery, and do their Country some service, if they would resolutely fall upon the *Swedes* with them, and turn their course into the Haven. He had no sooner said this, but it was resolved upon, and as soon put in execution, for most of the Sea-men being under hatches, they easily mastered rest, and came as they designed with full sail into the Haven. But that which made most noise in the Town, was the intercepting of a Letter of the King of *Sweden* to *Douglas*, his General in *Liefland*, with Orders for the seising of the Castle of *Mithow* in *Courland*, which he notwithstanding did, as also the Duke in it, who with his Lady and Children, were sent under safe conduct to *Riga*. This violence was aggravated with all the circumstances of infidelity and tyranny, the better to estrange the people from any thoughts of an accommodation with such an Enemy.

The *Swedes* having brought all their strength before *Copenhagen*, and having enlarged and fortified their Quarters, made all the appearances of force imaginable; and to shew they were in earnest, thundered upon the Town from three several Batteries at once, with that impetuosity, that they threw down the point of the Battery at the Western Gate, shivered many houses in Town, and slew sixteen of the Defendants with their Cannon bullets in one day: to this they added the terrour of their Granadoes, which they tossed over the Walls in great numbers, but not with that success they expected, for they either fell into Puddles and Moorish places, or were prevented before they took fire, by the vigilancy and address of those who were appointed to attend them. The *Danes* repaired by night the Battery the *Swedes* had shaken, and disposing of their Cannon (of which they had above 300 in all upon their Walls) in convenient places, rebat the Enemies Forts and Works, and oblige them to the like nocturnal labours and reparations. They also threw great stones out of their Mortars into the Camp, omitting nothing which they thought hurtful or offensive, so that the Siege and attack seemed reciprocal, and alternative. On the 20 of *Sept.* *Sept.* the *Swedish* Fleet having weighed their Anchors, sailed 20. towards the *Sound*, leaving only four Ships behind them to attend the besieged; this infused new joy into the Citizens, fancying their promised relief out of the *Low Countries* to be near, so then disdainig to be blockt up by such a slender remainder, *Held* was commanded by the King to go and fight them with three men of War, which the *Swedes* perceiving, cut their Cables and retired to the rest of their Fleet. The *Danes* encouraged by the supplies they had

Octob. 1

had received from *Laland*, and their former successes, adventured another salley. A hundred and fifty armed for the most part with Siches and Morning stars, rushed upon their most advanced approaches, and falling lustily on, slew above an hundred of the Enemies Pioniers (whom they surpris'd, resting from their labour, for it was late evening) and some few Soldiers: But the Guards hastening from all quarters to the relief of their men, they were forced to return, though not without the loss of a Captain, and six or seven Soldiers. The *Swedes* repaired the disorders of the late eruption the same night; which the besiegers observing, and heightened with so many lucky encounters, flew out upon them again, armed besides their usual Weapons, with hand Granadoes. The *Swedes* were building a Redoubt to secure their Trenches, which being yet imperfect was easily surpris'd, many of the Workmen being slain, and the Materials of it most thrown down, the *Danes* retiring into their receptracles again, without any considerable loss.

Off. 4.

7.

And thus both sides attacked, battered and offended each other, whilst the *Swedes* endeavour'd to approach the City, and the *Danes* to stave them off. The *Swedish* Fleet which had continued some time in the *Sound*, (seeing the *Netherland* Succours were not so forward as they had imagin'd, and that several Vessels during their absence had got into the Town, as also some Merchants ships which had been taken by the *Danish* Capers, not as enemies, but only to supply the present necessity of the besieged) returned back to *Copenhagen*, and advancing as far as *Draker*, landed eight hundred Foot and three hundred Horse in the Island. A thick Mist contributed much to their easie coming on shore, for they were not discovered till they were ready to leap out of their Boats, which affrighted the Boores, and a few Soldiers that watched there away, and oblig'd them to save themselves by a timely flight. *Amak* lying on the South East side of *Copenhagen*, and only divided from it by a Bridge, containing six *English* miles or six thousand paces in length, and four thousand in breadth. The ground is very fertile, abounding in Milk, Butter, Cheese, Hares, Domestick fowl, and all sorts of Kitchen hearbs, insomuch that it may properly enough be called, the Cities Store-house, furnishing indeed its Markets with those necessary commodities; there are several Villages in it, inhabited partly by *Danes*, and partly by *Dutch*, the latter having been brought thither out of *North Holland*, by the command of *Christian* the second, to make Butter and Cheese (as being esteem'd more skilful in that mystery than the Natives) above an hundred years since. The Kings unseasonable indulgence, had permitted the Inhabitants to live at their own Houses with their Provisions and Cattle, upon their intercessions and promises, to guard the Avenues of the Island, and assurance that they could not be so surpris'd, but they should have time enough to retire, and send their Cattle and Provisions, with their Wives and Children before hand into the Town; but they were deceived, for the *Swedes* were upon them

them before they were aware, so that they had scarce time to save their own persons and their Cattle. The *Swedes* being become thus Masters of the Island, began forthwith to fortifie their landing place, and secure themselves a retreat, in case the Citizens should attempt to disturb them in their new Conquest. King *Frederick* made indeed a shew as if he would have fought them, appearing in the Island about noon with all his Horse, but he was dissuaded by them about him, and the Enemies numbers, at least their advantage, being too strongly intrenched and Pallisado'd (for they had brought store of Turn-pikes, *Freeze Horse-men*, and such defensive materials with them) to be forced by a weaker Party than themselves. The *Danes* therefore seeing there was no good to be done upon the Enemy, returned into the Town, but first burnt *Sunbu* a Village near the Gate, lest it might afford them either lodgings or shelter. But the *Swedes* stay in the Island was not long, *Octob.* 9. for King *Charles* having received certain intelligence that the *Neiberland* Fleet was under sail, and on its way towards *Denmark*, quitted his present design, with a resolution to oppose the advance of these succors. In the mean time, because the Enemy might not over-much rejoyce at his departure, he commanded all the Villages and Houses in the whole Island, to be pillaged and burnt, and whatever might be of use to the besieged in his absence, to be destroyed. The *Danes* beheld this sad spectacle from their Walls and Towers with much regret, especially such who were particularly concerned in this devastation. But the King knowing bewailings were fruitless, resolved to revenge this violence, being also incited to it by the disorders of the Enemy, he being assured by a fugitive out of their Troops, that they being dispersed through the Island, and intent only upon their plunderings, might be easily surpris'd and oppressed. Hereupon the King commands to sound to Horse, and all *Octob.* 10. being in a readines, marches out himself with his own Guards; two hundred and fifty Horse commanded by *Guldenlew* and *John Alekefeld*, a few Dragoons, and a good Troop for the Reserve. Some of the nimblest Foot got up behind the Troopers, for the business required expedition, and four light Field-pieces, drawn each of them by single Horses were carried along. The Senators who were present, would have dissuaded the King from hazard-ing his person (in whose safety their all, and their Countries did consist) to the uncertainties of war; but he knowing of what moment the presence of Princes are in such encounters, and hearing that the King of *Sweden* was also in the Isle in person, gave them no hearing, but clapping spurs to his horse continued his way. The *Swedes* being alarmed with this appearance, drew into a Body near a Village called the *Hollands Dorp*; they did not exceed three hundred Horse, and those for the most part fresh men, and one hundred Foot. The *Danes* finding them in this posture, charged them bravely, and after some resistance broke and routed them, and had in probability, if they had pursued them closely, taken or slain King.

Charles

Charles himself, who together with the Prince of *Sulzbach* and *Wrangel*, were forced to a hasty retreat, leaving above a hundred of their men behind them upon the place. Some few dayes after, the King escaped no less danger by water, than he had done before by land; For the Boat which he was in, passing out of *Zeland* into *Schonen*, striking against a Galliot (which by violence of the Wind and stream was forced upon him) was broke in pieces. Most of his men were drowned, whilest he catching by the end of a Rope was saved, and pulled up into the great Vessel, with the loss only of his Hat and Staff. Count *Slippenbach* was also with him, but reprieved for the present, though he perished afterwards by the same Destiny.

The *Danes* content with this Victory, would not endanger the losing of it by pursuing it, but returned in triumph into the Town, their slain and wounded not exceeding thirty in all. The joy was so great for this success, that they gave publick Thanks in their Churches for it, forgetting the just sorrowes they had conceived for those real losses they had sustained, being they saw themselves so eminently revenged upon the Authors of them. The same morning the Besieged had sallied out with three hundred men upon the Enemies Works by the *Bebbing Lake*, but found them in such a posture of defence, that they were forced not only to desist but retire. This done, the *Swedes* raised a new Battery of eight Guns upon the said Dike, and whilest it was a building, threw great stones and Granadoes out of two Mortar-pieces, without intermission into the Town. Upon the eleventh day, they shipped their Troops in *Amak*, and set sail towards the *Sound*, the news of the approach of the *Belgick* Fleet encreasing daily. The *Danes* made yet another sally, after the departure of the Enemy out of *Amak*, with four hundred men, upon the square Fort or Redoubt next the West Gate, and beat the Defendants out of it with Hand granadoes, and other fire-works which they showed into it. They threw down and pull'd out the Turn-pikes and Pallisadoes, which were planted for its security, and having filled the Trenches with much terrour, retired without the loss of one man, in safety into the Town. However the *Swedes* had endeavoured to approach the City with their whole might, yet the valour of the besieged was such, that they could do it but slowly, and not without much difficulty, by reason of the frequent sallies, and uncessant firings out of the Town. And yet they were got within fifty paces of the Moat, and would undoubtedly have advanced farther, if they had had time. They approached upon that side of the City, not as being the weakest, for it was well flanked on both sides, but with design (as I suppose) to get into the covered way, and by it to the *Sow* or Dike next the Gate, which being broken down (for the earth was lower there) all the water of the Moat which it supported, would be let out, the Moats dreigned, and the Ascent to the Walls, on all sides by that means dry and easie. But the time, as we noted, failing them by reason

reason of the *Netherlanders* approach, King *Charles* betook himself to other Counsels, and making a shew as if he were not averse from Peace, signified the same by a Trumpet to the City. But being refused, as also the Propositions from the *English* and *French* Ministers, for a Cessation from Arms rejected, as unseasonable, being they daily expected their relief, he omitted the present attacking of *Coppenhagen*, and transferred the War into the *Sound*, with a resolution to oppose the *Dutch* in their passage that way with all his power.

Whilest these two parties do thus amuse the world with their struglings in *Denmark*, the *Dutch* Fleet assembled at the *Fly* in *North Holland*. It is not imaginable with what fervor the depart of these succours was pressed by all men. *De Witte* Vice-Admiral of *Rotterdam* was first ready with his Squadron, and sailed to *Doggerland*, with Orders to expect the rest of the Fleet there. But a sudden and dreadful Tempest rising out of the North and North East, forced him back into the *Maze*, to repair the disorders he had suffered in it. But the Merchant-men did not escape so, for being unable to resist the rage and violence of the Sea, several of them were sunk, and many being thrown upon the Coasts of *Holland* and *Friezland*, were split and swallowed in that vast abyss. Amongst the rest, there was a Citizen of *Dockum*, whose misfortune seemed the most deplorable of any; the Ship he was in lay at Anchor, but he fearing it would not be able to ride out the storm, pressed the Master to cut the Cable, and trust themselves to the mercy of the Water, which the Skipper refusing, added they had no hopes but in the firmness of their Anchor. The other not believing this, and terrified by the prodigious reciprocation of the Waves, ran to the Cable with an Ax in his hand and cut it. The Ship being thus at liberty, flew in a trice to the Neighbouring shore, and being flung against the Pales thereof, by the force of the Wind and Sea, after some reiterated shocks broke in pieces. Before the Ship was wrackt the man had lift up his Wife upon one of the pales, but turning about to help his son which stood by him, a sudden Gust had prevented him by throwing the Boy over-board, which the Father seeing, caught with one hand at one of the Pales, whilest he stooped with the other to help his Child, which he had done, if the said Pale being rotten and unable to support his weight, had not broken, whereby he also fell. His Wife astonished with so dismal a spectacle, and seized with a sudden grief, fell into a sound, and as if unwilling to survive such dear pledges, tumbled head-long into the Sea, and perished with her Husband and Child in that unpitying Element.

There was no industry omitted to repair *De Witte's* shattered Vessels, as also to make ready the rest of the Fleet, to which end the States sent express Commissioners to the *Flye*, who with their presence and authority should hasten these preparations. And now all things being in a readiness, the Souldiers were embarked, only the

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Wind

Wind was contrary, and by good fortune continued so, until the number of the Fleet was well-nigh doubled, for when they were first ordered to set sail, they were scarce strong twenty men of War.

Octob. 7. *Jacobus Wassenar* Hier of *Opdam*, and Lieutenant Admiral of *Holland* commanded the Fleet, and now the Weather being favourable, and the Wind at South East, he weighed Anchor, and sailed accompanied with the prayers and wishes of his Countrymen, to relieve that City which thus long had been the prize, for which two potent Kings had in person contended. The *Swedes* had used all their industry to hinder these preparations of the *Dutch*; they had offered the States their own conditions in the *Sound*, and had amply enough not only laid before them their old and inviolable Confederations, but also the ill usage which they had received from the *Danes*, by their manifold exactions. But seeing the States resolved, they resolved also, to carry it on with a high hand, in as much as in them lay, and venture a Battle, though at Sea, rather than be frightened or treated, out of their hopes and Conquests in *Denmark*. They therefore had their Katches and Spy-boats, swarming about the Coasts of *Holland*, to observe the Fleets order and motion; not wanting as well friends as intelligence, within the very *United Provinces* themselves. And that it might appear that these were real ones, two Shippes loaden with Ammunition, packed up in Herring Tuns, were intercepted in the *Texel*, designing to direct their course for *Corsoer* in *Zeland*. *Opdam* being advanced as far as the Point of *Schagen* was forced to Anchor there, as well to stay for *De Witte*, as the Wind to double the Cape, so that he could not reach *Lapland* before the two and twentieth, where he was also forced to expect six dayes more, by reason of contrary Winds. King *Charles* seeing his Adversaries Fleet so near, and in his neighbourhood, omitted nothing on his side for their reception. He went daily upon the Sands to visit and view their numbers, and bulk, and order, with his perspectives. Sometimes he seemed resolved to take advantage of the Wind and Stream, and fall upon them where they were, which both himself and many of his great Officers, wished afterwards they had done; considering that if they had been worsted, they might have retreated to *Gottenburg*, and that both the shores were possessed by the *Swedish* Troops. But the contrary opinion prevailed, which was to expect them in the *Sound*, being they must first pass the batteries of the Castles from both sides, and that they themselves if they were not victorious, might abundantly secure their retreat, by the neighbourhood of these two Forts, and the Haven of *Lanskrown*. The Wind being come about, and blowing gently out of the North, *Opdam* summoned the chief Officers and Captains on board, and having given those Orders to each of them which were necessary, dismissed them with this admonition; that they should not be wanting to themselves, to their Country, nor to them whose deliverance depended upon the success of their present endeavours. The Anchors being weighed with the general assent

assent of all, they set sail for the Sound. But whilest they are hastening thither, it will not be amiss to take a view of the Admiral and Colonel *Pichlars* Instructions; which were as followeth.

- 1 *The Lieutenant Admiral shall first and before all things take notice; That the intention and designe of this State in this present Expedition of their Fleet, is, to deliver such of the Inhabitants and Subjects of this State as traffick in the East sea, from all oppression, as also to assist the King of Denmark against the King of Sweden, who lately, unexpectedly invaded him, and that so effectually, as may by Gods help deliver him from the aforesaid violence.*
- 2 *To this end the Lieutenant Admiral shall sail with the Fleet of this State with all diligence to the Sound, and convoy thither the Auxiliaries of this State, designed for the assistance of the King and Kingdom of Denmark, and especially for the relief of Coppenhagen and Cronenburg.*
- 3 *Being come as far as Cronenburg, he shall so far countenance and assist the said Succours with all his Forces, that part of them may land and be received into the said Castle, in case upon communication with the Governour there, it be judged necessary.*
- 4 *He shall in like manner endeavour to put the rest of the Succours and necessities, into Coppenhagen.*
- 5 *He shall vigorously and manfully, like a Souldier and Seaman, endeavour to deliver all the Ships, Goods and Persons of the inhabitants of these United Provinces, who are taken or detained by the Ships of War of the King of Sweden.*
- 6 *For which end, he shall, in case he encounter the Swedish Fleet or any part of it, vigorously attack, and if possible, overcome the same, using therein such courage and Souldier-like precaution, as the occurrences of affairs will permit, and he is entrusted with.*
- 7 *Further, he shall in general, treat all them who will any way oppose or impede him in prosecution of his said Orders; as is more amply mentioned in the aforesaid Article.*
- 8 *He shall, the Land Militia being landed, continue with the Fleet under his Command in and near the Sound, and contribute by all Occurrences, all that is necessary to remove the mentioned oppression: Also he shall do his utmost endeavour, to retake any Ships belonging to the Inhabitants of this State now with the Swedes, and also hinder any further molesting of the Trafficking Subjects of this Land: in Order to which, he may upon such intelligences as he shall receive, as occasion may require, send any Ships or part of his Fleet, to prevent any design that may threaten them.*
- 9 *And in case the City of Coppenhagen and the Castle of Cronenburg should (which God forbid) be taken, by the Swedes before the arrival of the Lieutenant Admiral, the said Lieutenant Admiral shall then keep with the Fleet upon the Coasts of Denmark and Norway, in such places as he shall judge securest and most proper to carry on the design of the States, as in the eighth Article; and to wait their farther Orders.*

- 10 The Lieutenant Admiral shall comport himself as above, without notwithstanding tying himself so precisely to the Letter and Orders here prescribed, as not to act according to intelligence and occurrences, as he shall judge best for carrying on the designs and intentions of the States, as is already expressed: and shall also give the King of Denmark notice of his approach, and defer much to his considerations and pleasure, to which end he shall from time to time correspond with His Majesty.
- 11 The Lieutenant Admiral shall take care that he shew all respect and civility to the Chiefs of other Armies or Squadrons belonging to any King, Commonwealth, or State, in peace and alliance with the States General, conformable to their respective Treaties, yet without yielding in any thing contrary to these instructions, much less receiving any command from them, or suffering any visits by them: but repel any with force that shall thus pretend to treat him.
- 12 Any chief Officers that come to dye in this Expedition shall be succeeded by their Lieutenants or next Inferiors, unless incapable, &c.
- 13 The Lieutenant Admiral shall keep an exact journal of all material Occurrences, and advertise the States and the respective Admiralties therewith.
- 14 The said Lieutenant Admiral, shall in all other occasions (not mentioned in these Instructions) which may happen, act by advise of his Council of War, and as shall be judged most for the Lands service.

Sept. 14. 1658.

Collonel Pichler had also his Instructions apart, which were That he should conduct his 38 Companies in the best order to the *Sonna*. That being come thither, he should immediately confer with the Governour of *Cronenburg*, and put so many men with their Officers into the said Garrison, as should be judged necessary for its defence, by the said Governour. The said Officers and Companies should receive Orders from the Kings Governours, reserving notwithstanding to themselves, the correction and paying their souldiers. He should also furnish them with Ammunition, if they wanted it. This done, he should in person go with the remaining Companies to *Copenhagen*, and addressing himself forthwith to the King, or him who commanded there in Chief, receive such Orders as they pleased to give him, and precisely follow the same; reserving as above, the payment and military discipline over the same, to himself and his Council of War.

Cornelius de Witte Vice-Admiral of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*, lead the Van, consisting of eleven men of War, two Fluyts, and one Fire-ship, the main Battle containing 13 men of War, 2 Fluyts, and one Fire-ship, was conducted by *Opdam* himself; and the Rear, equal in number and strength to the Avantguard, was brought up by *Peter Floriz*, Vice-Admiral of *North Holland*. The Land Militia consisting of thirty eight Companies of Foot, under the Command of Collonel Pichler an old souldier, were, as also their chief Officers,

cers, carried in *Floyts*, but manned and armed as the other with Cannon for war; except some few Companies and commanded men, which were dispersed and mingled with the Sea-men, in the several Vessels of the Fleet. Count *Wrangel* High-Admiral of *Sweden*, who had hitherto lain with his Fleet, consisting of two and forty men of War, whereof twelve or thirteen were of vast greatness, under *Cronenburg*, seeing *Opdam's* order and motion, resolved to meet him in his passing the Streights. He had divided his Navy into four Squadrons, the first being led by *Henry Gerdson* a *Dutch Zealander*, who having served long in the *Swedish* Fleet, would not now quit it; *Wrangel* himself followed him with the second, Vice-Admiral *Bielkenstern* with the third, and the Rear was closed by *Gastanus Wrangel*, a Kinsman of the Admirals. King *Charles* had levied Sea-men about *Lubeck* and *Wismar*, and had many *English* intermingled with the rest. Many also of his old and best Souldiers, both Foot and Horse, were brought on board, he being resolved to omit nothing that lay within the compass of his power, for promoting of his Conquests, at least conserving the glory of his Arms by Sea as well as by Land.

Things being thus ordered on both sides, they met, and fought with equal hopes and courage. The *Dutch*, born as it were in the Sea, and expert in that Element, disdained to see the honour they had acquired by their skill in Navigation, disputed by an unknown Enemy, whilst the *Swedes* were transported with desire to shew themselves men at Sea, as well as they had done by Land, especially being their King was a Spectator, and an exact observer as well of the brave, as more degenerate actions of his Souldiers. It was betwixt eight and nine in the morning, when the *Dutch* Fleet was advanced mid-way betwixt the two Castles. They from *Cronenburg* saluted them with a brace of Guns, being the *Swedes* Signal, but with loose powder: but the *Dutch* not answering, they let fly with sharp from both Fortresses, but did no great harm, by reason of the distance. only one Bullet fell into *Peter Floriz* his Ship out of *Elzenburg* Castle, which slew three of his men. *De Witte*, who led the Avanguard, approaching the *Schonen* shore, let flye a Broad side at the Bridge which extends it self into the Sea, so that they at the Battery there, fearing the like greeting from the other Vessels, quitted their Guns and fled into the Town. The Vice-Admiral being past the Bridge, directed his Course fully upon *Wrangel*, who advanced towards him, and however shot at by the *Swedes* Ships of their first Squadron, did not answer them, nor *Wrangel* himself who gave him a broad side; till he was come near him. He then discharged a whole volley of Cannon at him, and being repayed in kind, returned him his thanks in the same coin. The first Squadrons being past, the main Battles began to approach, and now the two Admirals being within reach, *Wrangel* thunders upon his Adversary, with his great and small shot, *Opdam* did the same, but with more success; for *Wrangel's* Ship lost
her

her Rudder in the encounter, which necessitated her to retire out of the Battle, and go to Anchor under the Castle of *Cronenburg*. By this time the Fleets were mingled, and the fight grew hot on all sides, especially where the chief Officers were; for whilst each endeavoured to succour his own, all were engaged, which rendred the Combat terrible, and the more, being the place they contended in was so narrow. The contest betwixt *Bielkenstern* and *De Witte* was very hot, and might have been disputed longer, if the *Swede* being helped by one of his own Ships, called the *Wisnar*, had not attacked him in his front and side, neither did he overcome him, till he had slain him, and sunk his Vessel; which his unadvised running upon the ground did much contribute to. *Opdam* having oppressed *Wrangel* was shot at, at a distance, by all the Ships that approached him, but laid on board by two, the *Morning-star* and the *Pellican*. These lying on his Lar-board side, fought lustily, and extreemly perplexed the Defendants with hand Granadoes, which they threw amongst them out of the Round-top of their Main-masts. A third Vessel lying a stern of him, battered him sorely behind, and poured small shot into his Cabbin, but there was no body there, for the Admiral though then extreemly tormented with the Gout, had caused himself to be carried in a Chair, and placed before the door of the Hut or Captains Cabbin, on top of the upper Decks, that he might as well see, as be seen of all men, and give those directions that the present occasion required. He sustained the violence of the Enemies attacks for some time singly and alone, but *Van Nes* one of his Captains coming to his aid, the two Ships that had laid him on Board were mastered, the one being sunk by the said *Van Nes*, and the other taken by himself, and mann'd by his Lieutenant, but sunk also afterwards upon mistake, by one of his own men of War. *Opdam's* Ship, had in the heat of the Fight fallen foul of the Sands, as *de Witte's* had unhappily done before, if he had not prevented it by chopping to an Anchor, which saved him; for the Ship tacking about, by that means she cut and recovered the deep again. In the mean time she was extreemly battered, her sails were all torn, her rigging broken, and her sides so pierced with Bullets, that she had five foot water in Hold. But nothing seemed more dreadful, than an accidental fire which took in the Poop, which would have proved fatal, if it had not been suddenly quenched. *Opdam* had more than half his men slain and wounded, and his brave Capt. *Egbert Mens*, had received some slight hurts, which rather heated than hindered him, to do all the functions of a worthy Commander. For all this the Admiral did not quit the fight, until left alone betwixt the two Fleets, so that he then followed his own towards *Copenhagen*, whilst the *Swedes* assembled theirs under *Cronenburg*. The *Dutch* lost in this Fight about eight hundred men, amongst whom were the two Vice Admirals, *de Witte*, and *Peter Floriz*, (the last having been slain by an accidental Bullet at a distance) and five Captains. Only *de Witte's* ship, called the *Brederode* (their Admiral in the English

glisb War) was lost, having been stranded and sunk, as we have already mentioned. The *Swedes* had indeed taken Captain *Brunsfeld's* Ship, having slain him, and well nigh all his men, but they quitted it again, it being on fire, which threatned its sudden ruine; but that being quenched by the remaining *Dutch* who were left in it, being but 14 in number, the Vessel was brought by them to the rest of the Fleet. The loss on the *Swedes* side was greater; for three of their Ships were taken, and two, some say more sunk. There perished two more of their Ships, in their retreat to *Lanskrown*, one being stranded and quitted by them near the Isle of *Ween*, and the other, running upon its own Anchor, split in the entry of the Haven. The number of the slain and drowned on the *Swedish* side is uncertain; as near as I can gather, they doubled that of the *Dutch*, though these affirm them to have been more, and the other scarce so many. It is constant that all on neither side did not their duties, but being the number of either's Cowards was not very disproportionate, the disadvantage that way seems not unequal. But to leave these degenerate spirits to the shame and punishment that attends them, we will pursue our Relation.

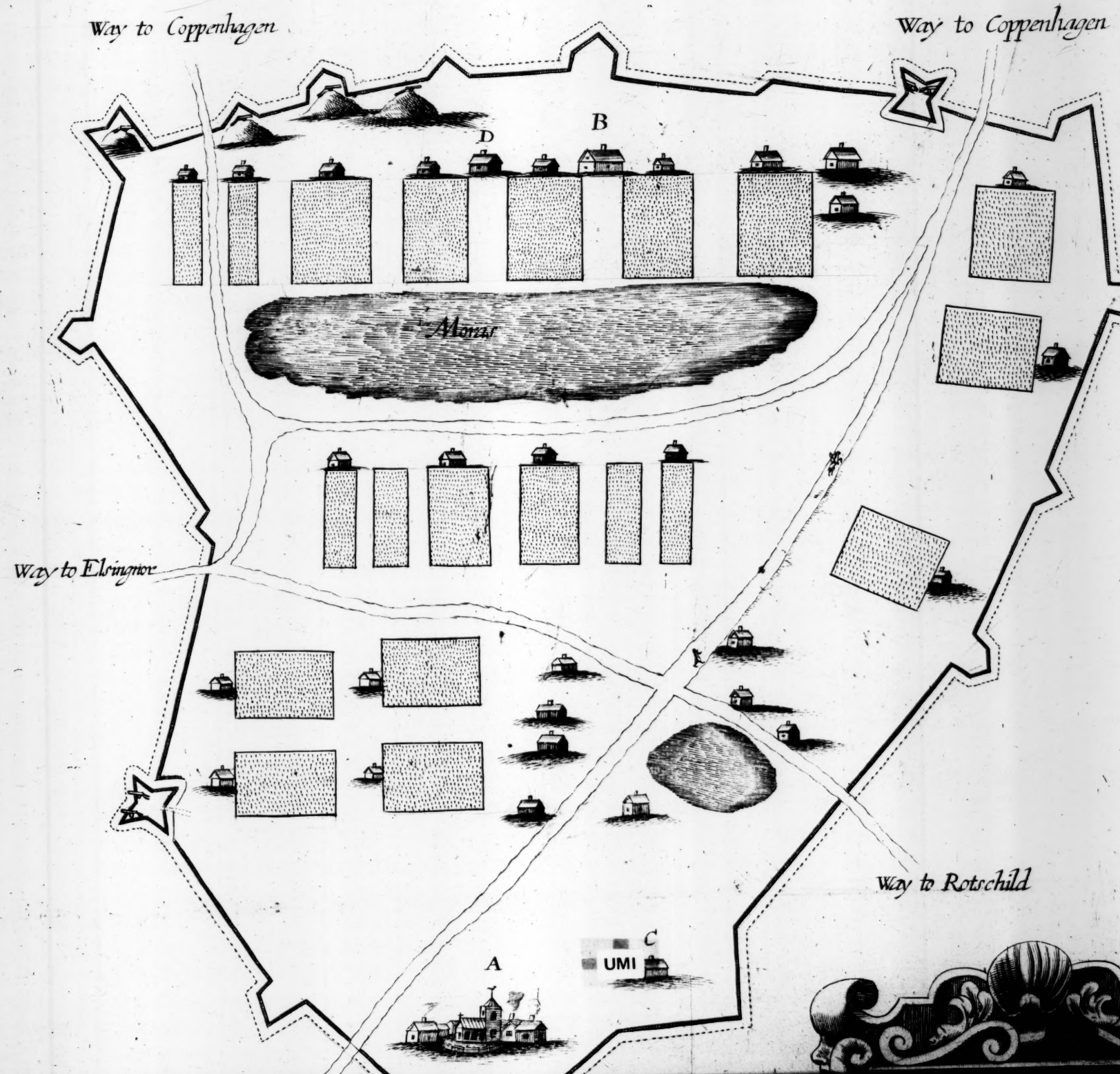
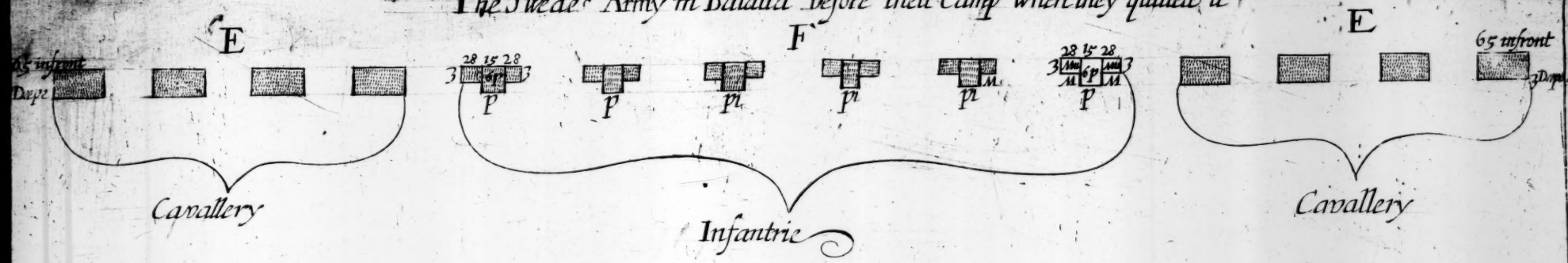
Towards Evening, the *Danish* Admiral *Bjelke*, who by reason of the contrary Winds could not get up to the fight, joyned *Opdam* betwixt *Copenhagen* and *Ween*, with six men of War. Hereupon it was resolved to engage the Enemies again, but they having secured themselves in *Lanskrown*, the design was changed into a Blockade, and being they could not enter the Haven without too great a hazard, to endeavour to destroy it by sinking several old ships filled with sand, stones, broken Cannon, and such like Ballast, in the entry of it, and so render the Fleet within it useless, by obstructing their passage out again. The *Swedes* were at first frightened with the greatness of these preparations, not thinking that impossible, which they saw undertaken, and pursued with so much eagerness. Seeing therefore they could not hinder what they so much feared by force, they would try what threatening could do, and sent King *Frederick* word, that they would revenge the detriment which should be done their Haven, with the destruction of the Kingdom of *Denmark*. But the *Danes* did not desist for all these menaces, but returned answer, that the King would persist in his design, if he thought it might prove prejudicial to his Enemies, not despairing, but to be able another day to revenge those injuries, which their malice might create him in *Denmark*, by a just retaliation in *Sweden* it self. But this, as also another design of the *Danes*, to surprize the Castle of *Elzenburg* about the same time, proved fruitless. Six hundred foot were ordered for this exploit, but being opposed by a rude storm were forced back, though not without some loss. The whole Fleet, the Winter being far advanced, was likewise obliged to return to *Copenhagen*, for the Sea began already to freeze, and crust with drifts of Ice.

It is not imaginable, with what excess of joy the *Dutch* Auxiliaries

liaries were received within the City, but the Besieged were transported when they saw (the next morning after the fight) that the *Swedes* had quitted their Works and Approaches near the Town, and were retired. The Sun had no sooner discovered the Enemies Retreat, but the forsaken Trenches swarmed with the glad Citizens; The Works which had been raised against them were levelled, and whatever the *Swedes* had left behind them of moment, carried in triumph into the Town. These publick joys were further celebrated, with publick Thanksgiving in all the Churches, and this oppressed people, seemed raised by this unexpected deliverance to hopes of a better fortune.

King *Charles* seeing the Garison so strongly re-inforced by the addition of the *Netherland* Troops, drew his Army off from before the Town upon their approach, and retiring to *Walbey*, stood there in Battle array two dayes together, but seeing no preparation on the other side to fight him, he pitcht his Tents at *Bronshoy*, two thousand paces from the City. There he encamped his Army with Walls, and Trenches, and Pallisadoes, as well to secure himself, as to keep the *Danes* from any material excursions: and being he was not at present in a condition to continue the Siege, he converted it into a Blockade, whereby he abundantly annoyed the Citizens, and kept the whole Country within his obedience. He also commanded Huts and Houses to be made for the Officers, and Souldiers, the Neighbouring Villages being broken down to be transferred thither, so that the whole Camp seemed like a new City, raised to brave the other. The *Danes* were content to become idle Spectators, for want of Horse, and forced to look on with patience where they could not remedy; so that they being onely rescued, and not delivered, laboured still under an irksome restraint, whilest their chief Town continued besieged by Water with vast shoals of Ice, (for the whole Sea was frozen, and the Fleets immoveable within the Haven) shut up on all sides by Land, except *Amack* now covered with Snow, and debarred from all correspondence and communication with *Zeland*, or any of the other Isles, as yet within its obedience. The *Dutch* had indeed brought a Fleet, (but it was Victualled but till *December*) and Souldiers, and some Provision into the Town, though not enough of the latter, to suffice so great a multitude: and the Citizens who had been surpris'd by the unexpected invasion of the Enemy, had neither their Store-houses full, nor as yet laid up for Winter; so that their wants grew daily upon them, and all hopes of further supplies were taken from them, by the extremity of the season, which rendred the Sea altogether un-Navigable. The greatest wants were of fresh meats and fuel, both which grew as well very dear, as very scarce: and yet the Citizens under went these hardships with much constancy, expecting till the more favourable *Spring* should restore the use of the Sea to their more numerous Fleets. In the mean time, those Ships which the States General had had upon the Coasts of *Portugal* this last Summer were returned home,

The Swede Army in Batalia before their Camp when they quitted it



Way to Copenhagen

Way to Copenhagen

Way to Elvingor

Way to Rotschild

Way to Elungor

Almar



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hon^r, and now ordered for a second Supply for *Denmark*. The Land souldiers were already commanded out of their Garisons, under the direction of Collonel *Killegreen*, but enquartered in the Towns of *North Holland*, by reason the Expedition was delayed untill the *Spring*, for the Winter came on faster than ordinary, and the cold seemed wholly untractable. And indeed the States supposed to have done enough, for the security of *Copenhagen* for the Winter, insomuch that they remanded had *Opdam*, commanding him to leave only twelve Vessels behind him, but this Order, upon report of an *English* Fleet being gone towards the *Sound*, was quickly countermanded, and the Admiral wrote to, to keep his Fleet together, and in the best and securest posture he possibly could. These second preparations did highly displease the *English* and *French*, in so much, that their publick Ministers then at the *Hague*, delivered each of them his *Memorial*, both in one day to the States General; wherein they admonisht them to joyn their endeavours with theirs, for composing of the differences in the North, and desist from fomenting the Wars in those parts, by sending of more Supplies thither; otherwise they should be also obliged, to intend their severall and particular interests. The States replied to these, that they desired nothing more than Peace, but being their preparations went still on, the *English* sent also a Fleet consisting of 23 men of War, and Soldiers, which caused no little apprehension in the States, towards *Denmark*. These forces were no sooner past the Point of *Schagen*, but they were obliged to come to Anchor by *Pickerholm*, a small Island belonging to *Friesland*. Neither were they able to pass further amongst the dangerous Shallowes in the way, and those shoales of Ice which the *Baltick* Sea did incessantly disgorge. Goodson who commanded the Fleet, had sent one of his Vessels before hand to discover the way, but the Winter being too far advanced, and he being assured that he could not continue his journey without endangering the whole Fleet, and having also received Letters from the King of *Sweden*, who for the same reasons perswaded his return, he steered his Course back towards *England*. Although this Fleet was constrained by the extremity of Weather to return to Port without acting any thing; yet 'tis very material to be enquired what measures *England* took in this Affair, and what their aim and design was, in equipping so many men of War. And this will best appear, from the Instructions which accompanied the Fleet, as well those sent to Sir *Philip Meadow* the publick Minister with the two Kings, as those to Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, the Commander of the Fleet.

Dec. 3.
1658.

Those to Sir *Philip Meadow*, were as followeth:

- i Whereas, upon occasion of the present War, lately falln out betwixt the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, We have thought fit to send a Fleet towards the *Sound*, under Command of Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, for the ends and purposes expressed in these our Instructions, and also in those given by Us to the said Vice-Admiral, which he hath order to communicate to you, you are to take the first, and soonest opportunity

tunity you can, to speak with the said Vice-Admiral, and to communicate with him, or such as he shall send to you, concerning the best wayes, and means for putting in execution what you shall herewith receive in charge.

- 2 In pursuance thereof you shall, in Our name, offer to both the said Kings Our friendly Mediation, for composing the present War, arisen betwixt them; and for preventing the further effusion of Christian blood, you are to desire a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility betwixt them, during the Treaty.
- 3 In case a Treaty shall either be begun betwixt them, before these arrive with you, or shall be entred into upon your offer of a Mediation, as aforesaid, you shall use your best endeavour to bring the said two Kings to an Agreement, and to settle a good and secure Peace between them; taking care therein, that nothing be concluded on, to the prejudice, or detriment of this Commonwealth.
- 4 In the management of this Affair, you shall communicate as you shall have opportunity, with the French Minister remaining in the Court of Sweden, with whom we would have you to maintain a very good correspondence. And in case the States General of the United Provinces have any publick Ministers residing with the King of Sweden, or the King of Denmark, you shall do the best you can to have a communication with them, and to encline them to use their endeavours, to the settling of this Peace, betwixt the said two Kings.
- 5 In case the Mediation so to be offered be not accepted; or that Affairs there are in such a condition, that a Treaty cannot be propounded, or in case a Treaty shall be accepted, but no Cessation granted, or no effect likely to be had of such Treaty, for the ends aforesaid, you are then, for the better securing of the interest of this Commonwealth in these parts (no other way appearing to Us possible in that behalf) to let the King of Sweden know, according to what you will find in Our Instructions to Vice-Admiral Goodson, that the Fleet under his Command will be ready, upon reasonable Conditions, to give him assistance, for his defence.
- 6 And that you may fully know Our mind, and intention upon this whole Affair, we have herewith sent you a Concept of Articles, which we judge fit and necessary to be agreed upon, betwixt Us, and the King of Sweden, as the Terms of our Assistance, which you shall communicate to the said King, and upon his agreement thereunto, and formal ratification thereof, you shall signify the same to Vice-Admiral Goodson, That he may accordingly pursue the Instructions given him in that behalf.
- 7 Though We have sent this Form, yet Our mind and intention is, not so to tie you up to all the words, and expressions therein, but that you keep to the substance thereof, so as if alterations be made in any part thereof, the substance be not altered. And in case any thing else occur to you, being upon the place, which as affairs stand may be of further advantage to the interest of this Nation, you are to propound, and insist on the same accordingly.

- 8 In case matters should so stand at the arrival of Our Fleet, that by reason of the King of Swedens successes in his affairs, Our Fleet can be of little help, or advantage to him, at present; you are in such case to try what termes may be procured from the King of Sweden, for securing our Commerce in those Seas, and to transmit them to Us, without doing any thing positively therein, till you shall receive special direction from Us.
- 9 As to what shall concern the wearing of the Flag, after conjunction of Ours with the Swedish Fleet, and the management of both, in point of Command in reference to service, or action: As also, concerning the dividing of any Prizes that shall be taken, by the Fleets, in conjunction, or apart, you shall make such agreements as upon Advice with Vice-Admiral Goodson, shall be thought reasonable, and consistent with the honour of this Commonwealth.
- 10 You are to give Us an account of affairs, by all possible opportunities, and by all Expresses both by Sea, and Land, that We may from time to time have certain, and particular knowledge thereof.
- 11 Whereas some difficulty may possibly arise, concerning the second Article in the Concept, whereby the people of this Commonwealth are to pass the Sound, and Belt without paying of any duty to the King of Sweden, on supposal, that the people of other Nations may pass free by colour thereof; you are impowred to insert such an additional Article, to secure His said Majesty from all frauds in that kind, as you shall find meet, and reasonable.
- 12 Whereas We are uncertain, at this distance, in what condition the affairs of the King of Sweden are, and how far the Fleet now sent will be of consideration to him; In case therefore, upon advise with the Commander in chief, you shall find that Our Fleet, in conjunction with the King of Swedens, shall not be sufficient to oppose any Forces, that may assault the said King, you are to take such care, in the Treaty, that Our Fleet may not be put upon disadvantageous Engagements.
- 13 Whereas the performance of this Treaty is of great consequence to this Commonwealth, you are to use your endeavours, in this Treaty with the King of Sweden, for to procure some reasonable security to be given to this Commonwealth, That the particulars contracted, and agreed in this present Treaty be performed, and observed; which We are not able to ascertain here, in regard His Majesties Commissioners had no power to agree any thing therein: And therefore must leave it to you, to do therein, with the advice of the Commander in Chief of Our Fleet, as you shall find most advantageous, and feasible.

Dated at Whitehall this 12. of Novemb. 1658.

Those to Vice-Admiral Goodson, were also as followeth:

- 1 Whereas, for composing the present Wars, which are lately falln out, betwixt the Kings of Sweden, and Denmark, we have found it necessary, to offer Our friendly Mediation betwixt the said Crowns, as well

for the settling of Peace between them, and for the good of the Protestant Cause in general, as also for preservation of Our Interest, so far as it is concern'd therein; As also to send a Fleet, which may attend the issue of that Mediation, and the affairs depending thereupon; You shall therefore sail with the first opportunity of Wind and Weather, towards the Sound, taking along with you the Fleet under your Command. And after your arrival in those parts, shall take your first opportunity, to deliver, or send unto Sir Philip Meadow, Our Envoy Extraordinary with his Majesty of Sweden, the Letter herewith delivered you whereby he is authorized to offer the aforesaid Mediation;) As also to cause these Our Instructions to be communicated to him, either by some fit person to be sent to him for that purpose, or by procuring him to come aboard you, as you shall find most convenient. And from time to time to take all opportunities of communicating each with other, for the better effecting of what's given you in charge respectively.

- 2 Whereas Sir Philip Meadow is authorized, by Our Instructions, to desire of both the said Kings a Treaty, and during such Treaty, a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility betwixt them, you are to joyn with our said Envoy in that desire, as Commander in Chief of the English Fleet; communicating as well to the King of Denmark, as to the King of Sweden, that you are come thither with Our Fleet, not to offend either of them, but to take all opportunities, that shall be put into your hands, for obtaining an Accommodation between them, for the good of both. And to see, that nothing be done to the prejudice of the free Navigation and Commerce into the Baltick Sea, nor to the particular detriment of this State, we conceiving Our Interests to be in the issue thereof, much concerned.
- 3 In case you shall find a Treaty betwixt the said Kings to be begun before your Arrival there; or that, upon this Mediation offered, a Treaty shall be entered upon, you are by advise with Our said Publick Minister, to use your best endeavours, that nothing be agreed upon, betwixt the said Kings, or any other, that may be to the prejudice of this Commonwealth, or to the Trade, and Navigation thereof.
- 4 If upon your coming upon the place, and advising with Sir Philip Meadow, you shall find, there is no room left for a Mediation, or Treaty, but that the War is likely to proceed betwixt the said two Kings, Or in case a Treaty shall begin, and be after broken off without effect; It appearing not to Us, That there is any other way to secure the Interest of this State in those Seas you are then, with Our Fleet under your Command, to give assistance to the King of Sweden, for his defence against such as shall assault him, upon the Terms herewith delivered you, and in the manner hereafter expressed.

That is to say,

3 You

- 3 You are, in the Cases expressed in the next foregoing Article, to apply your self to the King of Sweden, and to let him know, That you have received direction from Us, To acquaint His Majesty, That We have authorized the said Sir Philip Meadow, to treat with His Majesty about the Terms of an Assistance to be given Him in this present War, And that, the said Treaty being agreed, you shall be ready with Our Fleet, to assist him, according to the Conditions that shall be agreed upon in the said Treaty.
- 6 But until you shall find, upon advise with Our said Publick Minister, that no Treaty will be accepted, or being accepted, not take effect, you are not to communicate Our last mentioned Instruction to the King of Sweden, or any other person whatsoever.
- 7 After such Treaty with the King of Sweden shall be agreed, and so certified by the said Sir Philip Meadow, and a Copy thereof transmitted unto you, you are to employ Our Fleet, according to such Articles, and Agreements, as shall be therein contained.
- 8 In the prosecution of this whole service, you are in respect of the season of the year, to take the best care you can, for the safety of Our Fleet under your Command; It being Our intention, and meaning, That the Fleet shall not stay in those Seas so long, as to be hindered from coming home, by the Ice, or hardness of the Weather; and therefore We would have you so to order the Station of Our Fleet, That you may be at liberty to return, in case you shall be forced, for the reason aforesaid, to leave those parts.
- 9 In case the Treaty with the King of Sweden shall not take effect, through his not agreeing to the Articles, you are to forbear to give that King any assistance, till further Order. But shall immediately send away one of your Ships to advertise Us thereof, bringing the rest of the Fleet into some safe Road, or Harbour, where you may with security, expect Our further direction.
- 10 In your saluting of the Castles, or Fleet of the King of Sweden, you are to observe the usual custom in like cases.
- 11 You are to give us an account of affairs, by all possible opportunities, and by all Expresses both by Sea and Land, that We may from time to time have certain and particular knowledge thereof.

Dated at Whitehall this 12 of November. 1658.

In both the forecited Instructions, mention is made of a Treaty of Assistance, concerning which these three things are to be noted.

First, Assistance was to be given the Swede conditionally, in case a Peace could not be obtained, and the repugnancy to the Peace, was on the part of the King of Denmark.

2 It was to be given defensively onely, against those who should assault the *Swede*. 3 The Treaty was to be signed and ratified by the King of *Sweden*, previous to the Assistance, lest after his work done, he might profit upon the *English* Assistance to their own disadvantage. To which purpose, it is remarkable, that Sir *Philip Meadow* was authorised by the thirteenth Article of his Instruction, to use his endeavour, to procure some reasonable security that the particulars contracted and agreed in the said Treaty be performed and observed. In pursuance whereof, he afterwards to tast the temper of the *Swedish* Court, propounded that *Stade* upon the River *Elbe*, and *Landskrona* a considerable Port within the *Sound*, should be deposited in *English* hands, as a pledge and Garanty of the faith of the Assisted. But this Treaty of Assistance being the same in substance with that sent upon the Fleet under General *Mountague*, in the Spring of the following year, I have reserved it to that place.

Jan. 3. 1658. The year was by this time run out, without any remarkable action in *Denmark*, but the new one produced new exploits, and discovered the new Designs of the *Swedes*, though for the most part unfortunate: for their attempt upon *Langland* failed, and they were beaten off from *Menn* with loss. The Island of *Bornholm* having surpris'd and suppress'd the *Swedish* Garrison in it, returned to the obedience of her old Lord, and when the waters were open, furnished the City with great store of provisions. The Cold had congealed and frozen the whole Sea, all ways were passable, and all passages open. The azur'd plain was marbled with Ice, the two grosser Elements making but one vast Champion: and truly, this was the best season to war in, in those cold Regions, and the time wherein the *Swedes* had atchieved their greatest Conquests. *Copenhagen* was as well in their eye, as in their thoughts, and the only object they now aimed at. The acquisition of this remaining City, would as well crown as compleat their Victories, besides the addition of a Fleet as an Appendix to their triumphs. King *Charles* was therefore resolv'd to omit nothing for the compassing of this great Design, and now four thousand choise Souldiers were ordered to make an attempt upon the Enemy. These were all disguised, by wearing their shirts upon their clothes, to render them less discernable in the Snow. They were armed each with a brace of Pistols fastened to their Girdles, being provided also with Spurs for their hands and knees, against the slipperiness of the Ice. But their Design being discovered by one that fled from them into the Town, was laid aside for the present. Neither were the *Danes* wholly idle, they had secret correspondence with some Citizens of *Malmuyen*, and hopes to surprise that considerable Town. The occasion seem'd fair, as it was supposed, and the souldiery (most whereof were *Netherlanders*) was imbarcked for this important enterprize. But they lost their way in the dark, being by the unskilfulness of their Pilors, stranded upon the shallows of *Souholm*, which lucked

lucked well, for the *Swedes* had notice of the whole transaction, and having re-inforced their Garrison with 600 men, expected them with impatience. The *Danes* had sent one *Troll*, a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, who was the Author of this Expedition, to discover the Coasts, but whether his intention was to surprize his Mistress or the Town is uncertain, both are credible in a Lover and a Souldier. However it was he brought a young Lady back with him, which he had found in an appointed place without the Town, and word that the business was discovered, and not to be pursued without eminent danger. In the meantime, two Traitors who had undertaken to burn the Fleets were intercepted. They were induced thereto, by very extraordinary rewards, but being discovered received other payment, more suitable to their treason, and unfortunate endeavours.

The *Swedes* being resolved to vex the Citizens, drew out their Troops almost every night, frightening and wearying them with perpetual Allarms. They hoped to find some opportunity or other to surprize them, grown negligent through custom, or an opinion of their strength: but they were deceived, for the *Danes* having their Centinels upon the Steeples and heights of the Town, were warned by their Cannon, and tolling of their Bells, of every appearance or motion of the Enemy, so that their Walls upon every the least Allarm, were immediatly filled with the Defendants, who crowded from all parts to oppose the danger. King *Charles* therefore, seeing he could neither intercept nor surprize them, resolved to attack them by force, and relying upon the valour of his unconquered Army, and his own good fortune, which had thus long been prodigal in her favours to him, would, notwithstanding the strength of the Fortifications, and the numerousness of the Garrison, try what he could do by a general Assault. He had many reasons that prest his very haft. Amongst others, he apprehended the preparations made in *Holland*, where a great Fleet, and a fresh supply of Souldiers, expected only the Spring to set sail: but that which perplexed him most, was, that it had been not obscurely intimated to him, that the *English* (whom he trusted above all other) had declared, they would not willingly see *Copenhagen* change Master; so that fearing now his friends as well as his enemies, he would whilst he had time attempt it, supposing if he had carried it, it would be no impossible matter for him to make peace with the one, and reconcile himself with the other.

At this time Sir *Philip Meadow* being in the *Swedish* Camp, having received Letters from *England*, instructing him to urge a separate Treaty betwixt the two Crowns, sent into *Copenhagen* several Proposals to the King of *Denmark*, conformable to his Orders, to press the business of a speedy Peace, in order to prevent the hazardous contingencies of an Assault, to which he saw all things disposed and prepared. The Gentleman also whom he sent, did not obscurely intimate the said preparations in the *Swedish* Camp, for a
general

general Attack, but the King nothing terrified herewith, returned answer, That he could not in honour and safety, enter upon a distinct and separate Treaty, without a comprehension and inclusion of the rest of his Allies. The *Swedes* having notice of this refusal, prepare to force that by Arms, which they could not get by composition, and approaching the Town walls with their best Troops, fired a Preme or Flat-boat, which lay betwixt *Christians-haven* and the City, armed with six small Guns, and twelve Souldiers. But the day coming on, they retired for that time into their Camp again, without any further attempt. The Night following they made another show of assaulting the Works, but retired as before, and for the same reason. The third day, the Army being well refreshed, was drawn out of the Camp, and being abundantly furnished with all things necessary for the present Expedition, was commanded to march. The King had assigned each Regiment his Post, and the place they should attack, and having ordered that the Souldiers should wear Straw, and little bundles of *Juniper* on their Arms or Caps, gave the word, *God help us.*

The sign to fall on being given by firing some pitcht Barrels, the King, who was present, commanded fifty Musketers to go and take possession of the Ravelin, before the half Bulwork near the West Port. This being done, Lieutenant Collonel *Geneki* marched with two hundred men, on the right hand of the said Ravelin, up to a little Work which lies betwixt the long Gallery and the Wall. *Delwig* attackt the half Bulwork with his Regiment, and Major General *Fersen* seconded him on his right hand. The *English* and the *Palsgraves* Troops, assaulted the Bulworks next the Kings Stables, Collonel *Voyette* seconded by *Aschenberg* with three hundred Horsemen now on foot, the Brew-house; and Major *Smith* assisted by *Bidal* a Lieutenant of the Kings Guards, a man of War and a Preme, which lay betwixt *Christians-haven* and the Town. The rest fell upon the other quarters of the City, as they were ordered, all full of hopes for a happy success. But if the *Swedes* omitted nothing for compassing of their Design, the *Danes* on the other side, whose mark was their Hankerchiefs in their Hats, were no less sollicitous to divert the storm, which did so threaten them. They were informed of the Enemies motion, by their Centinels, and Patrouillis without the Walls, so that they were more than sufficiently alarmed and prepared to receive them. And truly we have not often heard of a more furious encounter, *Charles* shewing his men the riches and pillage of the Town, bids them hew out their own rewards, for all their past and present labours: whilest *Frederick* riding from one Guard to another, tells his, that theirs and their Countries welfare, depended on their valour, and this moment of time. The fight grew high and hot; the Defendants upon first sight of the Enemy, thundred upon them with their great Guns as they approacht, but when they were come nearer, well-nigh over-whelmed them with showers of
Bullets,

Bullets, Cartrages, Wild-fires, Hand and Mortar-granadoes (which they rowled in great numbers from the Walls) and other offensive instruments. That side which the *Swedes* assaulted was best flanked of any, so that they were viewed and shot at from several parts at once: but they chose it by reason of the Ice, to avoid the Graffs and Pallisadoes, and because the Works there were less compleat than the other, the Sea in gentler seasons rendring them inaccessible on foot. For all this, they came up to the very Walls. *Fersen's* men were got so close, that they were secure from the Flancks, and having pulled out some of the Pallisadoes, began to rear their Ladders, and mount. The Besieged, on the other side, filling the Bulworks with their numbers, and their Moates with swarms of Darts, which they incessantly threw upon the Assailants, forced them back; three or four got upon the top of the Works, but being ill seconded perished there, though otherwise worthy a better fortune. Neither were the *Swedes* more successful else where: the Colonels *Gengel* and *Voyet* were slain, and *Aschenberg*, *Heftrige*, and *Weyssesteyn* being sorely wounded, the Souldiers they had led, began to give back. The King seeing it, dispatcht Count *Erick Sneybock* with the *Smaland* Regiment, to their assistance, but he observing their disorder, and apprehensions at the loss of their Officers, passed by them, with design to fall upon the Rampart next the Stables; but whilest he endeavoured to pass the Ditch, he was shot into the breast, and slain. Neither did the Lieutenant Colonel who commanded the *Smalanders* escape, he being also sorely wounded, so that the Souldiers seeing their Leaders fall on all sides, did not a little stagger. The King had also sent the two *Spars*, with the other *Smaland* and *Sudermanian* Regiment to second *Fersen's* men who fought so well; but seeing the inequality of the place they contended in, and the little appearance there was of success, he commanded to draw off, though necessitated to retreat, through the tempest and incessant hailing of the adverse shot. The fight at the Ship was very hot, the *Swedes* had dragg'd Boats and Bridges with them to pass the Water (for the Defendants had broken the Ice round about them) and some got over and entred, but being ill received by them on Board, and worse seconded by their own men, they were forced out again, or slain in it. *Smith* and twelve more of his men were killed upon the Hatches, the Sea swallowed many, and such as escaped the Cannon, were glad to save themselves by a hasty flight.

Banner and *Vauasor*, who were ordered to keep the Enemy in allarm on the East-side, were no less unfortunate than their Comrades. *Lensman* and *Fittinghoff* two Lieutenant Colonels, were commanded to assault the Cittadel, but they, whether upon mistake or a sudden change in their design is uncertain, fell upon the Mill-bulwork next the East-Gate. The *Netherland* Auxiliaries, made up of several Companies, of those Nations which are

in service of that Illustrious Republick guarded that Post, the which, together with the Port & the neighbouring quarters, had been assigned them upon their first arrival; they had sent 100 of their Souldiers with a drum of every Nation, at the beginning of the tumult to help the *Danes* where the storm was hottest, which deceived the Enemy, who believing by this various noise, that most of them were un to the danger, hastened to take possession of their forsaken stations. The night by this time was far spent, it being about four in the morning, and the storm ceased on the other side, when it began with new courage and fury on this; for the *Swedes* having passed the *Wartow* Dike, marched with much confidence towards the *Town* Moat, and neglecting the Ravelin on their left hand, laid their Bridges, and crowding upon them endeavour to pass; but these Bridges proved so short, and consequently unable to bear the weight they were pressed with; so that the Assailants, terrified with this unexpected accident, retire again. Some indeed got over, but perished whilst their Companions, who could not get to them, made what hast they could to get away, leaving their Ladders, Bridges, &c. one hundred and ten common Souldiers, and their chief Officers, *Vasafer*, and *Fininghoff*, and *Lenisman*, slain upon the place. The attempts that were made upon *Christians Haven* and the North Gate, were scarce worth the mentioning, being only feigned Alarms to frighten the Besieged, lest whilst they seemed assaulted on all sides, they might perceive on which it was seriously intended. Seeing therefore the contest ended where it was more really meant, they drew here also off, though not without some loss, by reason of the incessant discharges of the adverse Cannon. It would be unjust to pass by the remarkable service which the *Dutch* Seamen did in this storm. *Opdam* kept a good troop of them near his person, for a reserve upon all occasions, but sent his most expert Gunners to assist the *Danes*; these being numerous, and more skilful than the other, discharged the Cannon with so much dexterity and speed, that what with the multitude of Guns (there being three hundred and five upon the Walls, besides seventy more upon the four Prames, and two small men of War) and their nimbleness, the whole firing seemed but a continuall Volley. But the day began now to break, no less grateful to the Defendants, than dismal to the Besiegers. The Moats, the Counter-scarps, and the whole Fields, covered with the bodies of dead and dying men, manifested the greatness of the slaughter. There lay slain upon the place, five hundred sixty four dead bodies, besides several which the Sea had swallowed up, and not a few who had been carried off by their friends.

In the Catalogue which was given the King of *Sweden* by his command after the fight, there are found five hundred and eighty dead, and nine hundred wounded. Amongst others was Count *Erick Steynbock*, General of the Ordnance, *La Voyet* a French Collonel (both which died of their wounds in the Camp.) Major General

General Sir *William Vasa* was found amongst the dead, with his Ears cut off by the greedy Souldiers, to get his jewels that hung in them. *Guengel, Dromond, Lensman, Fittinghoff, and Smith*, besides a great number of inferior Officers, at least a hundred; fell in that bloody assault. The Besieged lost scarce ten of theirs, and now the Enemy being gone, rush out of their Fortifications, and stripping both the dead and dying, sent these later to bear their friends company: the *Swedes* had left six Colours behind them, twelve Drums, two Mortar-pieces, two Petards, and many scaling Ladders, Bridges and other instruments of War, all which were brought in triumph into the City, and the same morning *Te Deum* was sung in all the Churches for the delivery of the King and Country from so eminent a danger.

Many who presume to judge of the actions of Princes, and that by the event to, seemed to wonder why the King of *Sweden*, did not at his first arrival before the Town, endeavour to take it by Assault, being it was but weak in Fortifications, destitute of Souldiers, and full of terrour and distractions? And why he did now attempt it at all, seeing the Citizens, having had time to recollect themselves, were grown strong in the opinion of their numbers, and past successes, that their Walls and Bulworks were high and firm, and their Garison re-inforced with great supplies of old Troops from their Confederates. It is constant that the King did not omit the Attacking of the City of his own accord, but by the perswasion of others, who affirmed, that it was an enterprize full of difficulty and rashness, to provoke desperate men, whose only hope was in their Arms. They further urged, that the City was not so weak in Fortifications, however thrown up in haste, but that they were defensible. Nay this very thing was an invincible Argument, that they were ready and resolved to suffer the worst of extremities, being they prepared for their defence with so much constancy and care. Moreover, they supposed it wholly incredible, that the King, the Nobles, the Clergy, and People, should tamely surrender or betray his Crowns, their Honour, their Revenues, their Houses, and Families, and all of them being they were numerous and armed, their Liberties, their Country, and what ever was more dear to them, to the common Enemy. It was safer therefore to draw out the War in length, being they themselves were not very strong. Lastly, the multitude was to be overcome by delays, and the miseries of a Siege, and not by force, for the more generous transports of the mind, however they may be of proof against sudden violence, yet they are oft found to languish in length of time, and by a continued succession of injuries. These and the like were the reasons of those, who were against the present assaulting of the Town, and they prevailed then, but seeing it fell out otherwise, the King calling to mind the taking of *Fredericks-Ode* last year, where the Defendants out-nubred the Besiegers, and considering that those things which are most difficult, are most glorious, and imagi-

ning nothing able to resist the valour of his victorious Army, now great and formidable, resolved to try his fortune which he had hitherto found so propitious and favourable. But his main encouragements were, the immense rewards of so noble a Conquest, the Monarchy of the North, and the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea; which he had already swallowed up in his vast thoughts. On the other side, if the success did not answer his expectation, the loss would not be very great, bearing no proportion with the hopes of so many, and so great Victories, crowded up in the taking of one Town. However it was, his forces were beaten off, and forced to retire to their Camp, where we will leave them to mourn their present loss, and bury their slain (which they fetched off by leave from King *Frederick*, and inhumed with as much military pomp as the place and time would admit off) to prosecute those other transactions of War, and Treaties, which were carried on in order to the relieving of this important City.

THE



THE HISTORY

Of the Late
Warres in Denmark,

BETWIXT
The Two Northern Crowns.

The Second Part.



During these Contests at *Copenhagen*, there arose another, and more formidable War, which put King *Charles* hard to it: and 'tis a wonder how he could resist so many, and so powerful enemies. *Germany*, *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* arm against him, and under pretence of relieving an oppressed Prince their Ally, and maintaining the Peace of the Empire, march with their conjoyned Forces towards *Denmark*. The true reasons of this arming, was the apprehensions they had of the unexpected successes of this great Prince; and lest *Sweden*, grown powerful with the accession of the *Danish* Crown, might prove no less ambitious than formidable. Upon this account they conclude a League betwixt themselves, and resolve with their United strength, to endeavour the succouring of King *Frederick* by Land, as the *Dutch* did by water. The *Imperialists* commanded by *Montecuculi* were esteemed eleven thousand; *Czernieski* and his *Poles* six thousand, all Horse,

Sept.
17.
1658.

Horse, and the *Brandenburgers*, at least twelve thousand strong. The Elector himself, a warlike Prince, and heightened with the glory his valour had gained him in the famous Battle of *Warsaw*, was General of this vast Army: And now their divided Forces being met, they resolve to march into *Holstein*, where the *Swedes* had hitherto lorded without resistance. Being advanced as far as the Borders, the Elector commanded publick Proclamation to be made; How that the King of *Denmark* having signified to the Emperor and himself, in what manner the King of *Sweden* had broken the Peace made in *February* last, invaded *Denmark* without any denunciation of War, besieged *Cronenburg* and *Copenhagen*, and designed the Conquest of the whole Kingdom: had also desired him to joyn his forces with the Emperours, and come with all possible speed to his relief. He therefore declared, that moved with the just demands of a Prince he was in League with, he was hastening to his assistance, to deliver him from his oppressors, and procure a firm and equitable Peace: Lastly, he desired all men to contribute their endeavours to so just a work, especially in Virtualling his Army, promising in case they did, to protect the Inhabitants from all violence and disorder of the Souldiery.

Sept.
25.

The *Swedes* unable to resist so powerful an Enemy, thought it safest to withdraw betimes; but lest they might not prejudice their Adversaries in their very retreat, they destroyed all the forrage they met with, burnt all the Villages and Houses in their way, and ruined what ever they thought might be of use to their pursuers. Having past the River *Egder*, on a Bridge of Boats, they broke it after them, and retiring into *Fusland* with their General the Prince of *Salsbach*, encamped their wearied forces at *Fredericks-Ode* a Sea Town of the lesser *Belt*, and well fortified with Bulwork, and a strong Garison. The Elector followed the sad track of this flying Enemy, and being come to *Gottorp*, the Dukes Residence, commanded a Battery to be raised against the Castle, threatening its ruine in case of resistance. The Duke of *Holstein* who had retired betimes to *Tonningen*, a strong Fortrefs lying on the North Sea, having notice of this summons, sends an Envoy to the Prince Elector to desire a Neutrality, which was granted him upon condition, that he should deliver his Castle to the Confederates, as a gage of his future good behaviour, and pay sixty thousand *Ryx-dollers* as a present ransom. *Gottorp* being surrendred, the Army marched to *Alsen*, a little Island separated from the Continent, by a small Arm of the Sea, which they passed in Boats under favour of their Cannon, and over-powring the Enemy in numbers, forced them to retire. Collonel *Aschenberg* commanded in the Island, with three Regiments of Horse and some few Foot, but being shut up in *Sunderburg*, and seeing no hopes of relief, he silently conveyed himself and his Souldiers, by favour of the night, into some Ships that arrived there some hours before, and so escaped the danger. The following day discovered the Enemies flight; but

but all their baggage, fifteen hundred Horses, and twenty four pieces of Canon, fell into the Conquerours hands; who in pursuit of their Victory marched immediately to *Nordburg*, another Fort in the Island, which they likewise took without resistance, and in it Collonel *Knuff* with his Regiment, who were forced to deliver up themselves and the place to the power of the Confederates. The Island being thus cleared *Czerneski* marched towards *Futland*, and falling upon a party of the *Swedes* at *Colding*, beat them, and forcing the Kings Pallace, put the whole Garison to the sword, reserving only the Governour and his Lieutenant, to publish his victory and their own misfortune. The Confederate Army drawing near *Fredericks-Ode*, met with a party of two hundred and fifty *Swedes* Horse, who had been sent to discover their Forces. These falling unwarily upon the Prince of *Anhalts* Troops, were beaten and routed, many of them slain, and Lieutenant Collonel *Streckihurst* that commanded them, with some other Officers of note, taken prisoners. The Prince heightened with this success, draws near the Town, but finding the Garison strong and resolved, contented himself with the advantage he had already got. The Winter was too much advanced, and the Weather too wet, to undertake a Siege so full of difficulty as this was like to prove. The Army was therefore sent into Winter quarters, and divided by Regiments into the several Provinces of *Holsteyn* and *Futland*, in expectation of a milder season. The Winter being past, both parties prepare a fresh for War; the *Swedes* had suffered much within the Town, and lost many of their men, poisoned with stench, and other calamities. Marshal *Nov. 1657* *Wrangel* had taken this place by Assault, the year before, and the dead bodies having been thrown by heaps into holes, and but ill covered, broke out again, insomuch, that the streets ran with the gore and matter, which issued from those dis-interred carcases. This so infected the Air, that the *Swedes* resolved to quit the place; besides that, the greatness of the Works, containing seven capacious Bulworks, required more men for their defence than they could well spare. Having therefore demolished the Fortifications, and burnt the Town, they transported their Troops over into *Funen*, leaving only a Garrison in the Cittadel, which was presently besieged by the Confederates, and indeed taken, but empty; for the *Swedes*, unable to resist the Enemies violence, stole away by night, with most of their Cannon and Provisions, over into *Funen*. They left some iron Guns behind them but nailed up, and having destroyed what the former flames had spared, mined their own Bulworks, and filling the Cavities with Powder, laid a train which might give it fire. The next morning the Confederates seeing the Enemy gone, rush carelessly into the Castle, and unmindful of what might happen, were most of them that had entred, by the sudden taking of the Mines, blown up and buried in the ruins of their destroyed Conquest. The Confederates having forced the *Swedes* out of the Continent, resolved to pursue them into their very retirements;

Jun. 1. ments. Hereupon they attack the small Isle of *Fenoë*, seated betwixt *Fusland* and *Funen*. The fight was sharp; until the *Swedes* were forced to flye and save themselves in *Funen*, having left behind them one Colonel, three Captains; several other lesser Officers, six Field-pieces, and one hundred common souldiers. The Confederates did not loose above forty men in this exploit, and being now Masters of the Island, filled it with men and Ammunition, as a place very convenient for the invading of *Funen*. Having therefore all things in a readines, and filled all their Sloops and Boats with Souldiers, they made for *Funen*, under favour of some *Dutch* men of War, which lay there to facilitate their passage. They designed to assault the Island in four several places at once, which they endeavoured, but being ill received by the Defendants, could not reach the Shore. The *Swedes* had fortified all the Avenues and descents with Trenches, Traverfes, and Cannon in abundance. Their Forces were likewise great and strong, especially in Horse, several supplies being come out of *Zeland* to their ayd, so that the enterprise seemed no less difficult than great, to undertake to force an Enemy, so well intrenched and so numerous as they were. The Confederates lost above three hundred in their retreat, besides the slain and drowned in the Attack, which were many. On the *Swedes* side there fell about two hundred, which number had been undoubtably greater, if they had fought in a more equal place.

This misfortune did not so dishearten the Confederates, but they resolved to adventure another attempt, only the place seemed not so proper, as it was at first imagined. They therefore ship their men again, and make for *Middlefare* where the Traject was narrowest. The men of War got thither, for all the Enemies great and small shot, but the Carriage-boats could not advance as was desired, for the Wind turning, and the Stream which follows it being against them, they were forced to desist, and turn back to *Fredericks-Ode*. The *Swedes* however glad of the Enemies retreat, thought nothing done, unless they could disenable them from attempting to pass the Streights for the future. This could not be effected, but by ruining their Boats and Vessels, which they bravely endeavoured, but finding the Enemy more watchful than they had hoped, they were after a rude reception, forced back; two of their Boats being sunk, with their men in them, by the Enemies Cannon. The

Jul. 4. Confederates seeing they could not get over in parties, resolve to attempt it with all their forces, and that in three several places, with their three Armies at once; but wanting Vessels to transport so great a multitude, they sent five of their six men of War, to gather up all the Boats they could find alongst the Coasts of *Fusland*.

The King of *Sweden* having notice of the Confederates design, was solicitous how to prevent it. He therefore commanded Captain *Cox* an *Englishman*, then in his service, with eight men of War, one

one Catch, and one Fire-ship, to *Middlefare* to oppose them. He met the five above-mentioned Ships at *Ebeltoe*, who were so affrighted with the sight of this unexpected Enemy, that they immediately cut their Cables, but seeing no way to escape, and having less mind to resist, most of the Officers and Mariners saved themselves on Shore with their Cock-boats. The Admiral indeed made a shew of Defence, but being sorely wounded was forced to yield. The number of the slain was not great, but the prisoners many, especially Souldiers; amongst which there were six hundred *Brandenburgers*, and four hundred *Imperialists*. Cox having mastered the greater Vessels, burnt thirty lesser ones, commonly called *Schuyts*, that lay in the Haven. He went thence to *Arhausen*, where having fired three Merchant-men, and one and twenty of the aforesaid *Schuyts*, he threw his fire-brands into the Town it self, notwithstanding a thousand *Poles* who were enquartered there. Having performed this great service, he returned with his Fleet to the *Sound* in triumph. The conquered Ships followed spoiled of all their Ornaments, two whereof being *Danish*, having their Colours dragg'd at their Sterns, and the other two *Netherlanders*, equal with them in fortune, though not in disgrace; which it may be was omitted in complement to the *Dutch* Embassadours, who stood in their Windows at *Elzenour* to behold the spectacle. This Victory, however easily obtained, was a very great one, and highly esteemed by King *Charles* himself, being now secure of *Funen*, the Enemies Vessels, together with their hopes of passing thither, being wholly destroyed. Cox was ennobled, and vastly rewarded for this service, the King being no less just in recompensing merit, than in discountenancing baseness, and no less prodigal in his favours, than severe in his punishments; knowing well that these are the true stirrers up, to great and brave Archievements.

The Prince Elektor moved with the loss of his Ships, and having no other in a readines, nor no hopes of any from the *Dutch* Fleets, which the reiterated Cessations had rendred useles, laid aside all thoughts of further attempting upon *Funen*. He therefore quitted *Fenoe*, and having sunk his remaining Boats at *Fredericks-Ode*, removed his Camp to *Hopdorp*, on the South of *Futland*, with design to transfer the War into *Pomerania*. The *Swedes* seeing the Enemy gone, re-garrison *Fenoe*, and landing on the Continent, began to rebuild a Fort, which the *Poles* had demolished upon the quitting of it: but having intelligence that a strong party of the Confederates, which was left behind to hinder their incursions, was marching towards them, they left their Works and retired into their Islands again.

And this is the sum of the Confederates Expedition, and Adventures in *Holstein* and *Futland*, which I thought good for methods sake to put thus together, leaving the more particular relation of affairs, to them that will write their story, for being my intention was only to observe what happened in order to this fa-

July
23.

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mous Siege, and not the whole War, it will suffice to have only mentioned those things which happened further off, though relating to it.

To return therefore to *Copenhagen*, where nothing of moment did happen after the great Storm: We find the Citizens secure within their Walls, and the *Swedes* in their Camp; whose Fortifications and strength in Horse, took away all hopes the Enemy might conceive of attempting upon them. Both parties suffered much through the extremity of Winter, but the *Danes* most, being shut up from all communication from abroad, the Enemy besieging them by Land, and the Ice by Sea. But they bore these as they had done their former hardships, with great courage and resolution. The approaching *Spring* encreased the hopes and fears on both sides. The *Danes* expected more solid succours from the *Dutch*, and the *Swedes* bragg'd of their more forward friends the *English*; and indeed neither of them was deceived. In the mean time, both Kings prepare for War. The *Dane* makes ready his Fleet with all imaginable industry; whilst the *Swede* resolves the conquest of the remaining Islands. To this end, General *Wrangel* ships six hundred Foot, and three Regiments of Horse, at *Newburg* in *Fuuen*, and sets sail for *Langland*, as the most accessible of them. Count *Waldeck* had attempted and taken it before, it being assigned him by the King for his Winter quarters: but he had been beaten out of it again with loss, he himself having been likewise hurt in the arm. But *Wrangel's* fortune was better, though his Victory more difficult. He came with his Fleet to *Langland Head*, where he designed to land, but the calm retarding his endeavours, gave the *Danes* time to hasten thither from all parts of the Island, so that they did not only repel the Enemy, but took one of their Long-boats with fifty men in it; this disaster did not at all discourage the *Swedes*. They resolve to venture again, but the place was not good to land in, being Moorish. They therefore sent all their passage Boats, and most of their Souldiers by night, it being dark, to search out a more convenient descent. In the mean time, the Fleet continued its station, and sending out their Cock-boats, kept the Enemy in perpetual Allarms, making shew of landing, the better to conceal their intended design, which lucked so well, that the Party they had sent out, gained the shore three miles off, before the *Danes* had notice of it, and having immediatly cast up a Breast-work to secure their entry, landed all their men without any considerable opposition: for those that hastened to the danger came too late, and in such disorder, that they were easily broken and routed. The remaining *Danes* retired into *Traneker* Castle, one of the Kings Houses, which was surrendred at mercy; as likewise the whole Island, without further resistance. The Prisoners were many, at least three hundred Souldiers, and above a thousand Country fellows which were in Arms for defence of their Country, but forced to yield to the strongest; the ordinary fate of Islanders, when a powerful

March

19.

1659.

erful Enemy is suffered to land. *Langland* being thus mastered; *Wrangel* sets sail for *Alsen*, where landing his men, he took the Castle of *Norburg* by storm, but having assaulted *Sunderburg* thrice in vain, quitted the Island again, and content with his former Victory, and pillaging the Coasts of *Holstein* in his way, returned with his Prisoners and Prey to *Funen*.

The loss of *Langland* did much trouble the *Danes*, and oblige them to hasten out their Fleet with all possible speed. The milder Spring had dissolved those shoals of Ice that had besieged the Haven; and the Sea was now grown Navigable, when Vice-Admiral *Held* was sent to observe the Enemy, with sixteen of those Ships which were ready. He met with six *Swedish* men of War, betwixt *Langland* and *Laland*, which he charged. The Fight was hot and sharp, but the *Swedes* being over-powred were forced to flye, having lost one of their best Ships, with fifty Guns, which *Held* took, and another which ran on ground to save it self. But the *Danes* did not long continue Masters at Sea, for being too weak to oppose the *Swedish* Fleet which came afterwards into the *Belt*, they were forced to save themselves in the Bay of *Flensburg*. This news being brought to *Copenhagen*, *Bielke* and *Opdam*, the *Dane* and *Dutch* Admirals hasten with the rest of the Fleet, to relieve their friends. Being past the Island of *Falster*, they discovered not far from *Femeren*, seventeen *Swedish* men of War, who having left *Held* to his liberty, thought to save themselves through the *Belt*, but the Wind proving contrary, they were forced to prepare for fight. The odds was indeed great; the *Danish-Dutch* being much stronger, and in probability of an absolute Victory, if they had not let it escape out of their hands by over-much pretention and circumspection. *Bielke* as the Kings Admiral led the Van, and bearing up with the Enemy with a flown Sheet, came to a Tack; for fear that lest advancing too much, he might loose that Wind which he had so favourable, and which filled the Enemies eys with the smoak of his Cannon. He kept therefore to Windward, plying them with broad sides as he past. *Opdam* following in the wake of the *Danes* did the same, not absurdly fancying that when they had tired the Enemy, their Victory (provided they had had the Wind inclosed in Bottles) would be no less assured than easie. But it fell out otherwise, for during this Gun-fight, the *Danish* Admirals Main top-sail came by the Board, which rendred his Ships motion less active, so that his men for fear of falling into the Enemies hands, called to *Opdam* to save them, which he did: but before they had brought a new Sail to the Yard, the Wind grew more favourable for the *Swedes*, for it turned from East North East, to South East; by which means and by the stiffness of the Gale, they having gained the Weather-gage, retired without any considerable loss, to *Wisnar*. The disadvantage in this Naval skirmish was not great on either side. *Bielkenstern* who commanded the *Swedes* was lightly hurt, and but very few of his men slain, which he had revenged with the conquest of the *Danish*.

March
30.

April
28.

April,
20.

nish Admiral, if he had not been prevented by *Opdam*.

King *Charles* seeing no way of conquering *Copenhagen*, but by the Conquest of the remaining Isles, for they were the Granaries and Store-houses of the City, resolved to attempt them. To this end, he embarks himself in person, and being come with four men of War betwixt *Warberg* and *Nyccopping*, two Towns of *Zeland* and *Falster*, made shew of attacking a Fort raised by the Inhabitants for the defence of the latter. In the mean time, he sent out a Long-boat with some of his Guards, under the Command of a Lieutenant Colonel, to coast and view the Shore; for the entry near the aforesaid Fort was too difficult, by reason of the shallowness of the Water thereabouts. The Lieutenant Colonel fell accidentally upon a Boat passing from *Laland* to *Falster*, which he took, and in it the Danish Admiral *Lindenowe*, and several Letters designed for *Copenhagen*, containing the true state of the Militia of the two Islands. The Prize being brought to the King, he upon stricter examination commanded the Fort to be battered, but seeing it was but to little purpose, by reason of the distance and difficulty to land, he removed to *Coldberg*, where the Streight is narrowest and deep; so that bringing his Ships near the Shore, he forced the numerous Defendants, by his continual thundring of great and small shot upon them, to quit their station, and make place for his men to land, which they quickly did. The Country men threw down their Arms, and hid themselves in the Wood, whilst the Souldiery being closer pursued, was overtaken at *Nyccopping*, and three hundred of them, who could not get soon enough over the passage, forced to submit to the Enemies mercy. *Falster* being thus subdued, the King in pursuit of his Victory, resolves to Attack *Laland*, the fruitfulest of all the Danish Islands. He therefore returns to *Coldberg* again, with six men of War, and several Carriage Boats, and coming up close to the shore, for it is very deep there, began to play upon the Enemies Works. The noise of the Cannon brought the Islanders together, to the number of near five thousand, but all could not hinder the *Swedes* to land under favour of their Guns. They also mastered the aforesaid Works, which were open to the Land side, which so terrified the Enemy, that they were at a stand what to do, until the King caused Proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet, that the Inhabitants should retire to their several dwellings, for he would use no hostility, but against such as were found in Arms. Hereupon they all retired, and left a free passage for the *Swedes* to land with all their forces. Only *Naskow* did dare to put a stop to the Enemies Carriere and Victories: For the Town being well fortified, and filled with the Souldiers that had retired thither out of *Falster*, and all the parts of the Island; and furnished with an immense quantity of Corn and other Provisions, seemed able enough to hold out a very long Siege; and truly it cost the Enemy much pains and time, as will hereafter appear, before they could take it. The King having thus mastered these Islands,

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found Corn enough in them to suffice a great Army for a year. He therefore sent two thousand Tuns of Rye, and one thousand of Barley into *Funen*, where the want was greatest, and victualled his Fleet for six Moneths besides.

Whilest the King was thus ordering his affairs in *Laland*, another part of his Forces were employed in the conquest of *Menh*, where the resistance was greater, than in any of the greater Islands. Major *Schroder* commanded there, assisted with a hundred Horse, and five hundred armed Boors. The *Swedes* were at first bravely beaten off, and obliged, by reason of the shallowness which hindered their Ships to approach the Shore, to quit their design for the present. In the mean time, the Garrison was strengthened by the addition of a Company of Foot from *Copenhagen*, which apprehended the danger most, this Island lying nearest to it, and readiest to assist it. But the Enemy, watchful upon all occasions, had caused new fashioned Carriage-boats to be made at *Nycopping* in *Falster*, each of these held fifty Horse in their Hull or Bottome, and as many Foot upon the Decks, which were environed with thick plancks, made Breast-work wise, and Musket proof. These Vessels were so flat, that lying level with the shore, the Horsemen mounted might easily get out; whilest the Foot facilitated their passage if there were need, with their shot from above as out of a Fortres. These Castle-boats, being ready and filled with Souldiers put off, and making towards the ordinary Landing-place, drew all the Enemies forces thither to oppose them, which they observing, suddenly changed their Course, and directing it to an unusual quarter, rowed with that violence, that they rushed on shore, and landed all their men, maugre the feeble resistance of the Defendants, who were indeed but few. There was an Inlet of the Sea betwixt that place which the Islanders guarded, and that other where the Enemy landed, so that before the Governour could get thither to oppose their descent, they were got into Battalia, and yet he charged them bravely, but being wounded himself, and seventy of his men slain upon the place, he was forced to yield the Victory, and the price of it the Island, to his more numerous Enemies. And thus all the Islands fell into the *Swedes* hands, and all the Kingdom likewise, except *Copenhagen*, shrewdly shaken with the loss of its obeying Provinces. The City was likewise blockt up on all sides, the Camp keeping them from any Communication by Land, and four, sometimes five of the Enemies Ships besieging their Haven by Sea, so that nothing material could enter in or out, without the Adversaries leave. This caused a great dearth within, which lasted all the Summer, and might have continued longer to the ruine of that Noble City, if they had not been relieved by the coming of the *Dutch* Fleet.

General *Wrangel* had hitherto held the City of *Naskow* close besieged, and having taken the Islet before the Town, and the two Forts in it, which secured the passage by water, straightened

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May 23. it so, that the succours designed for the relief of the besieged, however assisted by the *Dutch* Fleet, could not enter. *Wrangel* hereupon summons the place, adding threats to his invitations, which the Garrison rejected, with no less courage than constancy. The Marshal General was loth to leave the Work he had so well begun unfinished, but being called to a more weighty employment, he was forced to quit it, and hasten to the defence of *Funen*, so much menaced, and so often attempted by the Confederates, as hath been already related. The Garrison was glad to be rid of this valiant adversary, but their joy did not last long, for Field-Marshal *Steynback* being sent to succeed him, and not ignorant in whose place he came, was heightened with the example. He therefore pressed the Besieged with all his industry, and having got all things necessary for forcing of the place, approached, battered, and mined it, with that violence, that the Garrison unable to resist any longer, was constrained to surrender. Thus this considerable place wanting powder, and hopes of relief, fell into the Enemies hands, who proud with so signal a Victory, sent most of their Troops to prosecute the Siege of *Copenhagen*.

July 26. And thus we have hitherto continued our observations of what happened at Land. Neither did the Sea want its contests, though less bloody, whilst those two Potent Commonwealths, of *England* and the *United Provinces*, made preparations equal to their Grandeur, for the carrying on of their several interests, under pretence of assisting their Allies. The truth is, the Trade of the *Baltick* and free passage of the *Sound*, exclusive each to other, was the ground of their jealousy, and the design of their Arms. The contests between the *Swede* and *Dane* (remaining as it were) in *equilibrio*, it was generally believed; that which State soever could first send from home a considerable Fleet, would carry the business, and compose the business of the *Sound* to their own mind. Yet it is worth the noting, in this main end of theirs, what great advantages the *Dutch* had over the *English*; for by assisting their Ally the *Dane*, if they prevailed, and ruined the *Swede*, they looked for no less than an absolute Guardianship as it were of the Crown, both by their Land and Sea forces, and in consideration of their lent moneys; to have been their own security for passing the *Sound*, and imposing a restriction upon any else at pleasure, and so engross the Navigation and Commerce of the *Baltick* Sea to themselves: Whereas *England* by assisting their Ally the *Swede*, and helping him to conquer *Denmark*, could not assure to themselves the benefit they looked for, but must remain precarious, and stand to the courtesy of a potent Monarch, whilst they had but his bare faith plighted, to give them equal priviledges with *Swedes*, to pass the *Sound* Toll-free, and to have their Enemies excluded the Trade of the *Baltick*. Both States therefore prepare their Fleets, each of forty men of War. The *English* (as is already mentioned) had about the latter end of the last year, sent a Fleet towards *Denmark*, but that being

being by reason of Tempests, and the unpassableness of the Seas, full of shoals of Ice, unable to advance, was obliged to return. The Winter being past, General *Montague* was sent thither with a second, no less useful for service, being very well fitted for War, and well manned, with betwixt nine or ten thousand men (but no Land forces) then glorious for ostentation.

The *English* Fleet was got ready with that expedition, that it put to Sea a Fortnight or three Weeks before the *Dutch*, which bred no little jealousy in them, seeing their Rivals ready before them, and that with such powerful Forces; however Mr. *Downing* then Resident at the *Hague* had assured them, that the *English* Fleet which was gone towards the *Sound*, had no Orders to use any kind of hostility against their Shipping, but only to endeavour the procuring of a Pacification betwixt the two Crowns. And it proved so, though the States were hardly induced to believe it; And yet they will not now (making a virtue of necessity) seem to wish it otherwise, so that their preparations moved slower, at least in appearance; whilst they gave out, that they did not need to make hast, being *Denmark* was secured in the Neutrality of that present power. General *Montague* having Rendevoued in *Sould Bay*, weighed the twenty seventh of *March*, and arrived in the *Sound* at an Anchor between the Island of *Ween* and *Cronenburg* Castle *April 6*. And by agreement between the King of *Sweden* and the *English* Admiral, neither Flag was stirred, but born aloft, and the three Flagships as they passed by the Castle, saluted it (where the King and Queen were in person) with 21, 19, and 17 Guns. Every other Ship gave only a Volley of small shot, which were answered (Flags and all) only with two Guns, each according to the Custom of *Sweden*. *Apr. 6.* *March 27.* *1659.* *Apr. 6.*

The Instructions given to General *Montague*, I have thought proper to insert here, being they will give great light to the following passages of that Summers action.

WHereas upon consideration had of the state of Affairs in the Eastern parts, and particularly of the War fallen out betwixt the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; which hath greatly disturbed the Navigation, and Commerce of this and other Neighbouring States, and distracted the Affairs of the greatest part of *Europe*, We thought it necessary to use Our best endeavours, for composing the said War, and thereby to remove the manifold Evils, and Inconveniences which depend thereupon; And to that purpose, gave directions to Sir *Philip Meadow* Our Envoy Extraordinary with the King of *Sweden*, to offer Our friendly Mediation to both those Kings, and to contribute his utmost diligence, for settling a Peace between them; Giving him such further Instructions as We found necessary for that occasion; a Copy whereof (they bearing Date the ninth of *December* last) is herewith delivered unto you; And whereas since that time, there hath been a Treas-

a Treaty made and concluded on betwixt Us, and the King of *France* (a Copy whereof is, also herewith delivered you) touching the said Affairs; which both States finding to be of so great importance to their respective Countries and Dominions, and the Interest thereof; They judge that it concerned Them in a joynt way, and by joynt Counsels to apply the most effectual remedies that could be thought of, for composing the said War; And therefore did agree by the said Treaty, to offer their joynt Mediation to those two Kings, for procuring of a Peace betwixt Them, as also their Garranty for securing thereof in case it should be accomplished; With a mind also to accommodate the differences betwixt the King of *Sweden* on the one side, and the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* on the other; And for the better effecting of the mutual intentions of these two States, It was further concluded by the said Treaty, that all endeavours should be used, for disposing the States General of the *United Provinces*, to co-operate with *England*, and *France* in this good Work; And accordingly, as well We as the King of *France*, have given Instructions, to Our respective Publick Ministers, both at the *Hague*, and with the said Kings of *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, to prosecute and promote the afore-said good Intention, which We hope will have the issue that is desired, and that such a Peace will be settled in those parts where so great and powerful Armies both by Land and Sea are engaged) as will be for the security of the common Interest, and in particular of this Commonwealth; And having on these grounds sent a Fleet towards those parts the last Winter, which in respect of the season of the year, was not able to perfect the intended Voyage, We have now judged it necessary upon the same Grounds, and to the same ends as are before expressed, to send a Fleet under your Conduct and Command, into the *Sound* and *Baltick Sea*.

You are therefore on the receipt of these Our Instructions, and of the other papers herewith delivered, to repair to Our Fleet prepared for this Expedition, a List whereof is hereunto annexed, and upon your coming aboard, you shall (by Gods blessing and assistance) with your first Opportunity of Wind and Weather set sail for the parts afore-said, and having come thither, shall follow and pursue the Instructions, following, *viz*:

- 1 You shall immediately upon your arrival in the *Sound*, send to Sir Philip Meadow, as also to our Envoy with the King of *Denmark*, if he be there residing, and receive from them a true and perfect account, of the state of the affairs of the several Princes engaged as afore-said, and what effect our Mediation hath had, and whether it be probable that a Treaty and Peace will ensue, on the Terms wherein you shall find affairs to stand at your arrival.
- 2 You shall either by your self, or by the hand of Sir Philip Meadow, as
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you shall find it most convenient, let both the Kings of Sweden and Denmark know, that you have brought the Fleet into these parts by Our command, as a common friend to both, and with desires to procure a Peace betwixt them; And that for the same purpose, you are ready to contribute all that lies in you, to remove those difficulties that lye in the way of Peace and secure Agreement betwixt them, We judging it to be their own Interest, as well as that of their Neighbours and Allies, that the present War between them, should be put to a speedy end, And that We cannot understand how the same can be continued, without extream danger, as well to themselves, as to the present Interests of their Allies.

- 3 If a Treaty be begun between them before your arrival, you shall do what you can to bring the said Treaty to a Peace without delay, But if it be found, that either no Treaty is begun, or that the difference is such upon the Treaty, that no Agreement is like to be made thereupon, Then Sir Philip Meadow (as We have directed him by your Instructions to him) shall in Our name propound the Treaty of Roschild to be the Terms of a Peace to be now settled between them, with such Alterations as shall be found necessary, upon occasion of the War since fallen out between the said two Kings, perswading both of them to enter therein, as that which is the likeliest means (as affairs now stand) to put an end to this unhappy and unchristian War; And this you as Admiral of the Fleet shall also let both the Kings know. And also, that you shall be obliged by your Instructions, to oppose that Party, which shall refuse a reasonable Peace upon these grounds, We holding our self engaged to propound this Treaty, in respect We were one of the Mediators thereof.
- 4 In case the said two Kings can be brought to a Treaty, then a Cessation of all acts of Hostility is to be endeavoured between them, in which Cessation it is to be expressed, that no part of the Forces under the Command of the Elector of Brandenburg, and that Confederate Army, be transported into Zeland, Funen, or any other of the Isles, where now the King of Sweden hath footing, and that no relief of Men or Shipping, be put into Coppenhagen; nor any attempt made upon either of the said Kings, by the Forces of any Prince or State whatsoever; And you are authorized to use your endeavours that the Terms of the said Cessation be observed, and to oppose whomsoever shall go about to break the same.
- 5 And whereas we find that One great difficulty which the King of Denmark, makes about treating separately with Sweden, is because of his engagement to his Allies, We have directed the said Sir Philip Meadow to let him know, That this Peace being once concluded, yea whilst it is Treating, We shall use Our best endeavours to reconcile the King of Sweden unto the King of Poland, and the Elector of Brandenburg, and do not doubt, but something very effectually may be done therein; But we conceive it of absolute necessity, in the first place, to agree the said two Kings, without which it is impossible to imagine that any peace at all can any way be concluded on: And we hope

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that the States General of the United Provinces will likewise agree herein.

- 6 You shall also take the first opportunity to deal very seriously with the King of Sweden, touching his present War in Denmark, letting him know that We apprehend it very dangerous both for him and all his Allies, in respect of the great Combinations that are made against him both by Land and Sea, which in all probability he will not be able to defend himself against; And that whosoever comes in to his assistance, must expect to engage himself in a War with Holland, and those other States which are the Allies of Denmark, being a War which at this time this Nation is in no condition to engage in, nor is the Parliament now sitting, satisfied so to do: And that therefore the Counsell which We as his true Friend and Ally, do find necessary to give him at this time, is, That he will apply himself to make a reasonable Peace with the King of Denmark, upon the Treaty of Rotschild, which We at his own desire did in some sort become the Garranty of; Letting him further know, that in case his Majesty shall not think fit to follow this Counsel, We cannot satisfie Our self to give him any assistance, the consequence whereof will be so great upon this Nation; And in case the Dutch will be perswaded to say as much to the King of Denmark, We doubt not but matters will be brought to a happy issue in those parts.
- 7 In case the King of Denmark shall refuse to treat upon the Terms before expressed, you shall let him know, That although We have not interested Our self in this present War, but have carried Our self as Neuter betwixt him, and the King of Sweden; Yet now We find the Interest of this Commonwealth so much concerned in this War, That We held Our self obliged to make use of all the means God hath put into Our hands to put an end thereto; And that having done what lies in Our power, by Our Ministers, in a friendly way without success, We have found Our self necessitated to give assistance to the King of Sweden, as Our Friend and Ally, who having declared himself willing to make Peace upon the Terms of the Rotichild Treaty, We thought it not for the Common good, nor for the interest of England, to suffer him to be oppressed and totally ruined, by the conjunction of so great and powerful Forces against him.
- 8 And upon this state of the case, and having by your self, or Sir Philip Meadow Our said Envoy, used your best endeavour as aforesaid for making a Peace; And if the King of Sweden shall give satisfaction upon the Terms of Assistance, you shall then with the Fleet under your Command, assist the King of Sweden in a defensive way, in the manner expressed in the following Article.
- 9 You shall with the Fleet under your Command, either alone or in conjunction with the Swedish Fleet, hinder what in you lies, the transporting of any part of the Confederate Army, under the Command of the Elector of Brandenburg, or by whom else the same is commanded, into the Isles of Zeland and Funen, or into any other
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of the places now possessed by the Swedes; And if any attempt shall be made to do it, you shall use the force that is in your hand to withstand and prevent it, by whomsoever it shall be attempted.

10 In case the Fleet of the King of Sweden shall be attempted by the Dane, or by the Fleet of any other State, separately or in conjunction with the Dane, you shall use the Force which God hath given you to defend him.

11 You shall also labour by the Fleet under your Command, to hinder the carrying of any Succour or relief into Coppenhagen, until the King of Denmark shall be willing to Treat upon the Terms expressed in the former Article, and are hereby impowred to fight with any such as shall endeavour to carry in any such relief, as aforesaid; And are also impowred to authorize such number of the Fleet as you shall judge necessary, under the Flag of Sweden, to joyn with the Fleet of Sweden, to pursue and assault his enemies, for the better accommodating of the Terms of Peace as aforesaid.

12 And because Our intention is to manage this business by Counsel and Correspondence with the States General of the United Provinces, as also to prevent any further Engagement between the King of Sweden and the Lords the States in a Hostile way, We have directed our Resident at the Hague, to propound to the said States General, that they will joyn with England and France, in the making of this Peace, upon the grounds of the Treaty of Rotschild, and that in order thereto, they will not send to the King of Denmark any assistance further, till the issue of Our joyned endeavours for a Peace be seen, nor go into those parts with a Fleet, to take part with any side, which We have also expressed Our self resolved to do; And have accordingly given you direction by the foregoing third Instruction: And have also desired of them to agree that their Fleet shall not sail into the Sound or Baltick Sea, ut remain in some convenient place without, in expectation of the Conclusion of the Peace, wherunto We hope they will agree, and give Instructions to their Admiral to conform thereto, and to hold a good and friendly correspondence with you in the management of this business; you shall therefore in case you shall either meet with the Fleet of the said Lords the States at Sea, by the way thither, or shall arrive in the Sound or those parts before them, you shall hold a good and friendly Correspondence with them, sending to the Admiral, upon your first descrying of their Fleet at Sea, and letting him know, that you are come into those parts, to endeavour a Peace between the two Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, without taking either side, or giving assistance to either, if it be possible to make the Peace without it; and further, that We have ordered the Treaty of Rotschild to be propounded as the Terms of the Peace to be made between them, with such alterations, as are necessary, the management whereof between the two Kings, is left by Us to Our Publick Minister upon the place; And that you hope he is come with the same mind and intentions,

and that the Lords his Superiours, have given him Instructions to conform thereunto; And that he will accordingly declare himself, and joyn with you, for the making of this Peace, upon the terms aforesaid, in such a way as may be most likely to effect it, and prevent all jealousie between England and the United Provinces, whilst these endeavours are on foot. And in order thereunto, you are to desire the said Admiral; That by agreement with you, he will not give any assistance to either side, either by Men, Ships, or otherwise, nor endeavour to go with his Fleet into Coppenhagen, or into the Sound or Baltick Sea, lest further Hostility fall out betwixt the Swede and him, but that they will remain without the Sound and Belt, until it can be seen whether by your joint endeavours, a Peace may be concluded betwixt them, or until some other certain way of management of this affair, may be agreed upon between you and him, conducive to the ends aforesaid; Engaging likewise to him, that you will give no assistance on either side, nor remove the station of the Fleet from the place which shall be agreed upon between you, until the issue of the Treaty be seen as aforesaid; But in case the Admiral or Commander in Chief of the said Dutch Fleet shall not hearken to these terms; But shall with their Fleet endeavour to go through the Sound or Belt, for the relieving of Coppenhagen, assaulting the Swedes Fleet, or giving other assistance to the Dane; or that the Danes Fleet with the Dutch Ships already there, shall endeavour to joyn with the said Fleet of the States General for the purpose aforesaid, you shall in any of those cases by way of assistance to the Swede, use your force for the hindring thereof.

13 In case you shall find the Dutch Fleet and their new Succours for Denmark, to be arrived in those parts before you, and that they have relieved Coppenhagen, and joyned themselves to the Dane, contrary to those intentions and Propositions made in pursuance thereof, expressed to Our Resident at the Hague, you shall let the Dutch Admiral also know your intentions of coming into those Seas, and desire him to joyn with you in the promoting thereof, according to the twelfth Instruction. But if that be refused, or delayed beyond what the nature and condition of affairs will admit, you shall give assistance to Sweden upon the Terms before expressed. Or, if whilst you are debating these things with the Dutch, or during the Treaty with Sweden about an assistance, any endeavours be used to transport the Forces under the Elector of Brandenburg, and to fight the King of Sweden, you shall oppose it by force, either by your self, or in conjunction with Sweden, by whomsoever it be attempted.

14 And in respect there may many cases fall out, wherein We at this distance, and upon affairs subject to so great Changes and uncertainties, cannot give particular Instructions, you are in cases which are omitted, or not well explained, to have your eye in the determination thereof upon Our General scope, which lies in two things, to wit, the making of a good Peace between the said two Kings, wherein we desire
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a good Correspondence with the Lords the States General, and their Forces which shall be in those parts. And secondly, if it shall please God, to bring things to that pass, that you shall find your self obliged by the tenour of your Instructions, to give assistance unto Sweden, that you so manage it, that before you engage the Fleet in Action, the King of Sweden do agree and Authentickly ratifie the Treaty herewith delivered to you, lest that after any part of his work be done, he should refuse to do what in justice may be expected from him. However, for preventing of the transportation of the forces under the Elect. of Brandenburg as aforesaid, or for executing your 12th Instruction, you are authorized to engage the Fleet, although the said Treaty should not be agreed.

- 15 In case that the refractoriness to the Peace shall be on the part of the King of Sweden, endeavour shall be used to settle things so with the King of Denmark and the States General, that the Treaty betwixt Denmark and this State may be observed, and that whatsoever advantages are granted to the States General in point of Trade and Commerce, may be likewise granted to this State, and the same security given to Us for the performance thereof; letting them know, that otherwise We shall be obliged to provide for Our own Interest, and this We have directed Sir Philip Meadow to transact, who shall also follow such advice, as you shall think fit to give him therein.
- 16 As to matter of salutes betwixt Our Fleet and the King of Swedens, as also for what will be necessary to be agreed touching the manner of your Conjunction with the Swedes, in case it shall fall out you joyn with them, you are to do therein what shall be found necessary and agreeable to the Honour of this Commonwealth, as you in your judgment and direction shall think fit.
- 17 You shall in case of meeting with any Ships of War belonging to any Forreign State in the British Seas, take care that the Honour of this Nation be preserved, by causing them to strike their Flag, and lower their Top-sail, as is accustomed, and in case of refusal, you shall compel them therunto by force.
- 18 You shall take care to give Us frequent Intelligence of your proceedings, and of every thing that shall occur in those parts; That thereupon you may receive further direction, as shall be necessary, either touching your acting there, or returning with the Fleet; which yet you are to do, when the season of the year, the necessity of the Fleet, or other condition of affairs shall require; although you should not receive Our further directions therein.
- 19 In case it shall please God to take you away, or otherwise disable you that you cannot intend this service, The Vice-Admiral of the Fleet is hereby impowred to execute these Instructions, until We shall give other order therein.

March 18. 1658.

- 20 In case the whole Fleet contained in this List be not ready, you shall proceed upon your Voyage, with such part of them as are ready to sail with you, giving order to the rest to follow after you.

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Out of these Instructions it is observable, that the true Interest of *England* was then judged to be; First, to preserve *Denmark* from ruine, and the power of the *Sound* in his hand, as being a weaker Prince, whose Interest it would be not to impose upon his Neighbours, or if he did, it were easier reducing him to terms of reason; and therefore sincerely they endeavoured to re-establish the Peace of *Rotschild*, and save that King from the violence of the *Swede* and *Menes* of the *Dutch*, and to leave him a free Prince. Secondly, but if that could not be done, then as hath been touched before, they chose rather to help the King of *Sweden*, and take his word for their share in the benefit of the Conquest, than that the *Dutch* should grapple all into their hands and power.

The *English* being come thus first into *Denmark*, resolved to hinder *De Ruyters* conjunction with *Opdam* (who had Wintered in *Copenhagen*, and governed greatly in all their Councils and affairs) for fear their force might be superiour in the *Sound*: And therefore when the *English* Admiral was past the *Schaw* or Point of *Schagen*, (*De Ruyter* being not yet come out of *Holland*) he left three Scout-ships, one at the *Schaw* Point, another about *Lixow* and *Amont*, and a third at the *Koll*, all in fight one of the other, and the last in fight of the Fleet. He at *Schaw* had Order to meet *De Ruyter* there, and deliver him a Letter, wherein he desired him, that he would signifie to him, that he would not give any assistance to either side, by Men, Ships, or otherwise, nor endeavour to go with his Fleet into *Copenhagen*, the *Sound*, or *Baltick* Sea, lest further hostility should fall out betwixt the *Swede* and him, but remain with his Fleet without the *Sound* and *Belt*, until it might be seen whether by their joynt endeavours a Peace might be concluded, or until some other certain way of management of this affair, might be agreed upon between them, conducive to the ends aforesaid. And he engaged on the other side (*De Ruyter* agreeing to the desires expressed in his Letters) that he would give no assistance to either side.

The arrival of this great Fleet, was no less terrible to the *Danes* than acceptable to the *Swedes*, for these hugged themselves with the hopes of powerful assistance from their tried friends, whilst the other apprehended the carriage of a reconciled enemy. King *Frederick* being therefore doubtful of what might happen, gave notice to the States General by an Express, of the arrival of the *English* Fleet, consisting of thirty six men of War besides Fire-ships, in the *Sound*, adding his entreaties, That they would be likewise pleased to dispatch their promised Succours, whereby he might be at length delivered from the oppressions of his growing enemies. But neither the *Swedes* confidence, nor the *Danes* fear did last long, for *Montague* having sent his Cousin Mr. *Montague*, and his Vice-Admiral, to salute King *Charles*, did likewise assure him by word of mouth; as he did King *Frederick* the next day after his arrival by Letters, that He was come with his Fleet to help to reconcile the two Kings, which

which he would endeavour with all his might, and in the interim neither assist nor offend either of them. The *Danes* raised with the Admirals friendly Message, were assured by Sir *Phil. Meadow* the *English* Envoy's confirming of it. He wrote in the same sence *Montague* had done before, offering withall his Masters so often proffered Mediation, and having laid open the irreparable evils of a continued War, magnified the Peace of *Roschild*, as most consentaneous to the present State of affairs, and the surest foundation of the future Treaty. But both Kings delayed their Answers, though he of *Denmark* did at length reply, that he did very willingly accept of the offered Mediation, the very name of Peace being most welcome to him, but he could not Treat, much less Conclude any thing, without his Allies and Confederates. The truth is, he abhor'd the thoughts of the Peace of *Roschild*, and had obliged himself but lately, by a Treaty with the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, to make no Peace with the *Swedes*, without mutual consent of the Confederate Princes.

King *Charles* seemed no less averse from the Treaty of *Roschild* than the *Dane*, and however *Montague* did daily tamper with him, to encline him to it, yet his returns were all delatory, because he saw the *English* posted, so as he thought their reputation would never permit them to suffer the *Dutch* Fleet to sail by the sides of their Ships into *Coppenhagen*; and that then his work would be done gratis, if they were together by the ears, and he free from having signed any Terms for the benefit of *England*. The *English* Admiral on the other hand apprehending his danger, in being engaged to such a disadvantage, pressed his Majesty for a clear answer without delay, which not receiving, and withall finding that King preparing to be gone in person into *Funen*, where entercourse would be long and difficult, and continue this inconvenience; The Admiral sent him word, that he was sorry he could not all that time know his Majesties resolution, and that now he was obliged to pursue some other instructions he had: and presently weighing Anchor sailed out of the *Sound*, and posted himself in the *Cattogat*, between the *Koll* and the Town of *Guldeley* in *Zeland*. As his Fleet passed by *Cronenburg*, the King of *Sweden* sent Count *Brake* and Monsieur *Post*, two Senators of his Kingdom, to complement the Admiral, and wish him good speed in his undiscovered design; And withir two hours after, sent another Boat to him, with an Instrument under his hand and seal, accepting the mediation of *England*, upon the Terms of the *Roschild* Treaty, which was in effect welcome to the *English* Admiral, although he had an important reason to remove the Fleet as he did, though he had hoped no other advantage thereby. For in the *Sound* where the Fleet was posted, it was found that the Current ran so violently and uncertainly, and differently in every small space of distance; and the breadth of the water was so little, that if the *Dutch* Fleet had come, and he been obliged to fight, the place was such as no Pilot knew how to work
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April.
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a Ship in : And the other Station a breast of the *Koll*, was good Sea-room, and a steady Current (for in that place is discernable no tide at all) but if the Wind blow from the Ocean, the Current runs into the *Sound*, and if it blow out of the *Baltick*, then the Current runs out.

The *English* Fleet thus posted, and having obtained the consent of the King of *Sweden* to the *Roschild* Treaty, the Admiral again enforces the *English* Mediation upon the King of *Denmark*, who being bound up, and over-ruled by his Allies, refuses the Terms of the Mediation; whereupon the *English* Admiral, according to his Instructions, offers a Treaty of Assistance from *England*, to the *Swede*; which I thought fit to insert here.

WHereas there is a new and unhappy War, broken out betwixt his Majesty the King of *Sweden*, and the King of *Denmark*, and that since the said Rupture, the King of *Sweden* hath by his Arms got possession of the Town of *Elzineur*, and Castle of *Cronenburg*, in the Isle of *Zeland*, and obtained thereby the Command of the *Sound*, and hath also beleaguered the City of *Copenhagen*, yet with this mind and desire, to make and conclude with the King of *Denmark*, a good and secure Peace; And whereas, upon pretence of giving assistance to his Majesty the King of *Denmark*, there is a great and powerful Army, consisting chiefly of the Forces of the King of *Hungary* now Emperour of *Germany*, and of the King of *Poland*, already marched into *Holstein* and *Futland*, whereof they have already possession, designing also to possess themselves of *Funen* and *Zeland*, and the strength therein, which should they be able to effect, it would in all humane probability, prove the ruine and loss of the Protestant Interest in those parts, and endanger the subversion thereof in all *Europe*, and also be to the destruction of Navigation and Commerce in the *Baltick* Sea, and the King of *Denmark* himself (whose assistance they pretend) captivated into the hands of those whose interest obliges them to make a prey of him, and his said Majesty the King of *Sweden*, having upon these grounds, and to the ends before expressed, and in this exigency of affairs (in pursuance of a Treaty made at *London* betwixt the two States, on the seventh of *July* Old stile, in the year of our Lord 1656, whereby it is in the first Article thereof (among other things) agreed, that it shall be lawful for either of the said Confederates within the Kingdoms and Countries of the other, to hire Ships, as well Men of War, as Merchant men, upon the Terms and Conditions therein expressed) desired the Assistance and ayd of his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, and for the further settling the Trade and Commerce betwixt the two States.

- 1 It is agreed on either part, that for the affording of Aid and Succour to His Majesty and Kingdom of Sweden, His most Serene Highness the Lord Protector shall be obliged to send forthwith towards the Sound a Fleet of *Ships of War.*
- 2 That the said Fleet or Navy shall at the Charge of his said Highness and Commonwealth of England, &c. be equipped and fitted forth sufficiently, with all things necessary for such an expedition, and shall be also from time to time supplied for the keeping and maintenance of them in those Seas, until the twenty ninth of September next.
- 3 The said Fleet being come into those Seas, they shall aid and assist His Majesty the King of Sweden, in a Defensive way, that is to say; First, they shall do their endeavours to hinder any Foreign Ships of War to joyn themselves with the Fleet of Denmark, under what Flag soever it be attempted; or on what pretence soever. Secondly, for the hindering the transportation of any Souldiers or Forces belonging to the Confederate Army, under the Command of the Elector of Brandenburg into Coppenhagen, or any Islands of Denmark. Thurdly, for preventing of the carrying any Relief or Succour of Money, Viſuals, Souldiers, or other provision of War into Coppenhagen. Fourthly, for the defence of the Swedish Fleet, in case they shall be assaulted at Sea, or blockt up in Harbour by the Dane, or any other in Conjunction with him, or separately from him.
- 4 Forasmuch as His Highness and the Commonwealth of England will be at excessive charge in setting forth and managing the foresaid Navy, for the attaining the ends aforesaid: Therefore by way of Recompence, and satisfaction of the charges expended and to be expended: And in respect of the other hazards and dangers which may ensue to this Commonwealth by reason of this Assistance: It is agreed that the People and Subjects of this Commonwealth, from time to time Sailing and Trading, coming and going through the Sound, or Belt, shall not at any time be obliged to pay any Tribute, Tolle, or Custom, Duty or other Charge whatsoever, for either Ships or Merchandizes, to the King, or Kingdom of Sweden, or any of his Officers or Ministers whatsoever; but shall in their said Passage, and Navigation through the said places be treated in manner following.
- 5 That upon the coming of any of the Ships of His Highness, and this Commonwealth, and the People and Subjects thereof, into those parts, and at their passage through the Sound or Belt, producing their Legal and Authentick Certificates to the Officers of the King of Sweden, and to such Officer or Officers as shall be appointed by His Highness to reside at Cronenburg, or such other place thereabouts, as His Highness shall desire, the Commanders, Masters, and other Officers of such Ships of this Commonwealth as shall so pass, shall on such Certificates pay

- to the Officer or Officers so to be appointed by His Highness, such Tolle and Duty as His said Highness shall think fit to appoint, which Tolle and Duty, shall be for the sole benefit of His Highness and this Commonwealth, in recompence of the said Charge and Hazards aforesaid : And upon payment of such Tolle or Duty, such English Ships shall be suffered to pass without any stop or molestation.
- 6 That the People and Subjects of this Commonwealth shall in the Countreys and Dominions of the King of Sweden, which either now are in His possession, or hereafter shall come into His possession, pay no higher or greater Custom, or Duty, than the Subjects of Sweden at this time do, and be used in all other things as the Subjects of Sweden at this time are.
 - 7 That His Majesty of Sweden shall shut up the Sound, as also the Great and Little Belt, and all other Passages into the Baltick Sea, and prohibit all Commerce and Navigation through the same, to all such who shall be in Amity with those Confederates, or either of them.
 - 8 That all the Ports, Rivers, Roads, Harbours and Countreys of Sweden shall be free and open for the English Ships and men to come into, reside in, and go forth of, from time to time as there shall be occasion, without any molestation, and shall be assisted and furnished with provisions and other necessaries, at the same rates that the People and Subjects of the King of Sweden are.
 - 9 That all reasonable endeavours shall be used by these Confederates to withdraw the Elector of Brandenburg, and all other Princes and States from any conjunction with the House of Austria, and to Unite them against the said House.
 - 10 That the said Fleet set out by His Highness, as aforesaid, shall be continued forth, for the purposes aforesaid, for so long time as the present season of the year shall permit, with respect to the safety of the Fleet and no longer.

The English Admiral was bound up, not to admit of any alteration in the Treaty, and the King of Sweden, how great soever his need of Englands help was, yet immoveably persisted in refusing to sign the Treaty upon these Points.

First, that he could not admit the English the Priviledges in Sweden that all Swedes have, because he alledged some sort of Ships were built there in a form particular to be useful in his Wars, and for lading Salt also, in consideration whereof they had special immunities. But he offered to make them equall with the rest of the Nation.

2 That he could not exclude their Enemies out of the Baltick Sea ; For it was not possible for the English alone to suffice for the Commerce of it, and if they could, yet it was giving them

them to much advantage in Trade upon his own people, and all the bordering Nations upon the Baltick Sea to make them Monopolizers thereof.

Whilest these things are in discoursing in the *Sound*, the change of Government happened in *England*, and the *English Fleet* thereby taken off from the prosecution of its first design, was made to wait the new directions of the Power then in possession; whose Interest differing from the former; seemed to espouse that of *Holland*, by undervaluing the *Swedes* to their very great prejudice.

But however affairs went in *Denmark*, the struglings at the *Hague* were no less remarkable, which ended at length in a League betwixt the three States, to wit, *England*, *France*, and the *United Provinces*; Whereby they resolved to perswade or enforce, the warring Kings, and that against their wills, or without consulting with them, to a Reconciliation and Peace. The Articles of this Convention, wherein its Authours shewed, they no less minded their own, than their Neighbours interest, were in all nine. The first was, that a Peace should be made betwixt the two Kings, upon the foundation of the *Roschild Treaty*. 2 That the second Article of the said Treaty, by which all Forreign hostile Fleets were prohibited to pass the *Sound*, should be wholly exploded and left out, or so couched, that no Vessels or shipping whatsoever, belonging to any of the three States, should be comprehended in that restriction; but that on the contrary, they should be permitted to pass the said Streight at pleasure, without any let or interruption. 3 That the *English Fleet* should not joyn it self to either of the two Kings Fleets, nor assist nor offend either of them, for the space of three whole Weeks, counting from the day that notice hereof was given to the Commander in chief of the said Fleet: And likewise, that the *Dutch Fleet*, which was to be sent for *Denmark*, should observe the same, and not joyn with *Opdams Fleet*, who was also to act nothing in prejudice of the *Swedes* for the said three Months time; and that the Fleet to be sent thither should not go to *Copenhagen*, nor enter the *Baltick Sea*, either by the *Sound*, or by either of the two *Belts*. 4 That the said three States, should withdraw all manner of ayd and succours, from that King who should refuse equitable terms of Peace, and continue so to do, until he had declared the contrary. 5 That the three States should stand bound for ever, for the executing and keeping of the made peace. 6 That all Ships whatsoever belonging to the Subjects of the three States, as also their Merchandise and lading should be free, and exempted in the *Sound*, and both the *Belts*, from any new Impositions or Tolls. 7 That *England* and *France* should undertake to remove all diffidences and mis-understandings, arisen betwixt the King of *Sweden* and the States General, and cause the Treaty of *Elbing* with its elucidations to be ratified. 8 That the three States should use their utmost endeavours to compose the War with *Poland*, as also the difference

May
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1659.

betwixt the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the *Swedes*. 9 Lastly, that the Articles of this Treaty should be ratified and duly observed by the three States. And thus this Treaty, notwithstanding the main opposition of the Emperor, the *Danes*, and the *Brandenburgers* Ministers, was agreed upon by the three States. But being those of *England* and *France* did refuse to sign it at present, under pretence of waiting further, and more plenary Orders from their Principals, the States General dispatched an Express to the King of *Denmark*, assuring him that their Fleet, notwithstanding the arrival of Foreign Fleets in the *Sound*, should follow, with the forty Companies designed for his assistance, with all possible speed; and that they would omit nothing whereby they might remove that oppression that his Kingdom did at present groan under. There was no industry omitted for the hastening out of the *Dutch* Fleet, all foreign Commerce and traffick by Sea being forbidden, and wholly prohibited, until the same were furnished with Mariners. This unusual Embargo did extremely trouble the Merchants, especially the *Green-land* Farers, for the season to fish for Whales drew nigh, and the loss would be as well great as irrecoverable, if it were neglected. Seeing therefore that Seamen came but slowly in, as unwilling to engage in a War, where nothing was to be expected but blows, and that they would not be prest, as inconsistent with the freedom they pretend, they were forced to hire them at excessive rates, the price heightening, even to forty Guilders a man every moneth. At last, though with much ado, they levied twelve hundred Seamen, which were dispersed amongst the Navy, which by this time was ready, consisting of forty brave Ships of War. And now their Land-forces being likewise embarked, they set sail towards *Denmark*. The *Danish* Agents which resided in *Holland*, had hired several Fluyts and Galliot, to carry provisions to *Copenhagen*, and to transport the Confederate Armies out of *Frisland* into the Islands: but wanting both monies and credit, they were stayed behind, to the prejudice and dis-reputation of them who were concerned. *Michael de Ruyter* Vice-Admiral of *Amsterdam* had the present Command of this Fleet, for *Opdam* was absent, and yet the Land Collonels pretended they ought not obey him, which rather than do, they proposed to pass in the quality of Passengers, but the States undertaking the decision hereof, ordered that the Vice-Admiral should preside in Counsels of War on board, but should sit below the Collonels at meat in the Cabbin. Being under sail, *De Ruyter* had Orders sent him (for the above-mentioned convention betwixt the 3 States was signed) to use no hostility, unless provoked, against any whosoever, for the space of 3 Weeks, not to enter the *Sound*, nor to joyn his Forces to *Opdam's* during the said time. The same Orders were also sent to the two Admirals in *Denmark*, both of them being strictly enjoyned to attempt nothing until the expiration of the said Truce: But being the time was well-nigh expired, before the Admirals could have notice of these transactions

April.
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ons at so great a distance, it was agreed upon that the Truce should take its beginning from the receipt of the Advice, and Letters which were sent them. *De Ruyter* therefore being advanced as far as the Islands of *Lefow* and *Anhout*, came to Anchor, where he staid whilst the Embassadors sent by the States General to both the Kings, continued their journeys to *Cronenburg* and *Copenhagen*. The *Dutch* for all their vast preparations; considering the hazards and consequences of a War, wisely thought the way of Mediation the best; at least the safest, to appease the troubles of the North. They therefore dispatcht their Embassadors to the differing Princes, to each two, but with a strong Fleet, an excellent way of interposing. There were who alledged, that in case the business came to blows; that fighting and the function of Embassadors, whose errand was Peace, could not square, and so would have had them go by Land; but that nicety being waved, they embarked, though not all at once, and therefore did not arrive at the same time in the *Sound*. The first (being likewise the first in Commission) that came to *Cronenburg*, was the *Heer Slingland*, Counsellour and chief Pensioner of *Dort*. He had given the Court notice of his approach before his landing, by a Gentleman of his train, and Letters to the King. Whilst he himself, having complemented the *English* Admiral by another, went himself on board him, where after a reception equal to his Character, he fell into discourse with *Montague* about the present constitution of affairs, though in general termes; for the Admiral being not then impowred (for the *English* Embassie was not as yet arrived) they did not descend to particulars. *Slingland* being returned to his Ship, received late that night an Answer from Court, which was, that he should be welcom, and received according to his dignity. There came with this Gentleman another, with a complement and civil Letter, from the Senator *Rosenhaen*, who brought him also a Passport which he had not desired, and a large Declaration in answer to his Letter, which contained a recapitulation of Complaints against the States Generals proceedings, and continual thwarting of the *Swedes* interest. But he waved any particular debate thereupon, by advice of the other Embassadors designed for *Copenhagen*, then with him, reserving it to the States considerations and orders, and being however admitted, he was conducted in the Kings Coach, with that solemnity which is due to Embassadors, to the Lodgings designed for his Reception, and three days entertainment. The *Heer Huybert*, Counsellour and Secretary to the States of *Zealand*, who had been joynt Colleague with *Slingland* in *Prussia*, was also joyned with him in Commission here, but being he did not Embark as soon as the other, and that he spent some time in giving the last Orders to the Chiefs of the *Dutch* Fleet, and in Conference with General *Montague* upon his; he did not arrive in the *Sound*, (where his Reception and Audience was the same in substance with the other,) till three days after. But the *Heeren Vogellang* Counsellour and Syndick of *Amsterdam*, and *Ha-*

Jan.
II.

ren a Gentleman of *Friesland*, both, but more particularly deputed to the King of *Denmark*, arrived there the same day that *Slingland* did; they (as *De Huybert* also did) came in a man of War, and saluting the Castle with their great Guns, were repayed with the same civility. Being landed, they were conducted to Court with Ceremony, and admitted into the Kings presence, told him, that the States General were much troubled at the unhappy differences that were risen betwixt the two Nations, and that they were and always had been far from any thoughts of hostility against the Crown of *Sweden*, only had not been wanting to their Allies in their extremity, according to the Covenants made with them. They had therefore sent them their Embassadours, to renew their old friendship with their old friends, and to endeavour to remove those misunderstandings and animosities which were at present betwixt both Kings. The King having answered in order to these particulars, though in general terms, expressed himself no less desirous of Peace than the States. The Embassadours being dismissed, returned to their Ship, being waited upon thither with the same Ceremony they came, the next morning they sailed to *Copenhagen*, where they were received and treated with as much splendidef, as was possible in a Town so long besieged. Amongst other discourse, they acquaint the King with the Treaty concluded in the *Hague*, betwixt the three States, and seriously invite his Majesty to embrace the same, as most agreeing with the present estate of his affairs. But the King having thanked them civilly for their former favours, protested solemnly, that he had rather hazard all, than treat upon the foundation of the *Roschild* Treaty, and that with the exclusion of his Friends and Allies: He therefore besought the continuance of their helping hand, as the true and safest means to a wished Accommodation. Neither was the King of *Sweden* less averse from that hated Treaty, however pressed to accept of it, by the other Embassadours at his Court. And yet lest he might seem to do nothing, he ordered Commissioners to argue the case with them, but their Conferences proved for the most part fruitless, and there was no great appearance, to put an end to the War in the three Weeks time prefixed by the three States. In the interim, there was no industry omitted in the Fortifying of *Cronenburg*; the best part of the Town of *Elzineur* next the Castle was thrown down to make way for the new Works, and near a thousand Country people did labour day and night without any intermission in the raising of them. *Koerge*, *Corseur*, and other places of *Denmark*, were likewise fortified, and the Camp before *Copenhagen* strengthened by hightening the Walls, and enlarging of the Moat: By all which it appeared, that the *Suedes* had no mind to be discoursed out of their Conquests and warm Quarters.

De Ruyter who had hitherto lain betwixt *Lesow* and *Anont* in order to the Truce, weighed Anchor, and being commanded by *Opdam*, came with his Fleet to *Sampso*, that they might joyn with more

more ease and at pleasure, when the three Weeks were expired. *Opdam* himself lay with his Fleet, and some *Danish* Vessels, betwixt *Spro* and *Komps*, expecting the expiration of the Truce, which was yet prolonged for three Weeks more. For *Monsieur Newport* the States Embassadour in *England*, had made a new Cessation with the Usurpers there, and that without the knowledge of his Superiours, the Counsel of State there having absolutely insisted upon it, by reason their Commissioners designed for *Denmark* were not yet gone, and lest any thing might happen before they could get thither, prejudicial to the Peace they all so much desired. The States seemed unsatisfied with this unexpected agreement, but yet lest they might seem likewise averse from thoughts of an Accommodation, they approved of it, and commanded their Admirals to observe it, but with that restriction, that they should joyn Forces upon the expiration of the first three Weeks, and land their Land Militia in *Copenhagen*.

June
13.

In the mean time, whilst the *English* Fleet expected new Orders, an occasion happened wherein the *English* did the King of *Sweden* a singular good turn: For 28 sail of *Swedish* ships, very good ones, were gone under the Command of young *Wrangel*, into the lesser *Belt*, for the relief of *Fauen*. *Opdam* and *De Ruyter* being newly joyned in the great *Belt*, were going to surprize this *Swedish* Fleet, the news whereof coming to the *English* Admiral, he presently sailed into the *Belt*, and there found the whole *Dutch* and *Danish* Fleet about ninety Sail, pursuing the *Swedish* Fleet, and in fight of them. But upon discovery of the *English* Fleet the *Dutch* tackt, and put themselves into the great *Belt*, before the *English* Fleet, and came to an Anchor near *Komps* Island, and the *English* off the Town of *Callenburg*; in the mean time, the *Swedes* delivered, in fight of both Fleets, sailed away towards the Isle of *Hafelin*, and so for the *Sound*, where the King of *Sweden* questioned and imprisoned young *Wrangel* for his ill Conduct. The *Dutch* apprehending the *English* advance, made ready for Fight, and the allarm lasted until *Montague's* Ketch and Letters assured them, that they were friends, and had no other thoughts but of Amity and Peace. Hereupon followed all the demonstrations of kindness on both sides, the Generals complementing each other by their Vice-Admirals, and the several Officers of the Fleet, visiting, receiving, and feasting each other, with all imaginable kindness and civility, and now the Cessation being already expired, the Chiefs themselves mentioned and concluded a further continuation of it for three Weeks more.

After both Fleets in the *Belt* had disputed some ten days, the explaining some terms in the *Hagues* Treaty, which the *English* Admiral made his pretence, to go to the relief of the *Swedes*, he weighed Anchor and sailed by *Hafelin* into the *Sound*, and came to an Anchor between *Ween* Island and *Copenhagen*, shutting the *Dutch* out of the Channel, and expecting the coming of new Embassadours from

from *England*, and lying in a Post advantageous to correspond either with *Copenhagen*, or *Elzineur*, as occasion offered; whilst *Opdam* sailed with his Fleet to *Copenhagen*. The *Danes* who languished within their Walls, clamoured against these noxious Truces; the loss of *Naskow* heightened their murmurings and complaints, justly fearing, lest the whole burthen of the War might fall upon them, whilst the great power of their Confederates seemed but idle Spectators in their Tragedy. This moved the King to press the States by re-iterated Messages and intreaties, that they would not suffer *Denmark* to be wholly lost, and such vast and chargeable preparations to be rendred fruitless, by their re-iterated Cessations. The Enemy had in them, taken all the Islands, and *Naskow* it self in sight of their Fleet; so that he had nothing now left but *Copenhagen* only, and that straitly besieged, by Sea and Land. He added, that the *Swedes* did fortifie the landing places of *Zeland* and *Funen* with all diligence; neither had they desisted from assaulting and taking the States own Ships in the lesser *Belt*; by all which it appeared, how little hopes there were to bring these to reason by Cessations and Treaties: He did therefore earnestly desire them, and that by vertue of the League betwixt them, that they would send their Generals orders to obey his commands, and that until *Denmark* was delivered from the danger it was in, and the Enemy obliged to embrace a desired and equitable Peace. *Carissus* the Danish Resident in the *Hague*, urged the same by three several Memorials, but all could not perswade the States to recede from their late Conventions with the *English* and *French*. Monsieur *De Thou* had told them in their full Assembly, that if they did depart from the Treaty which they had concluded with so much difficulty, his King would also withdraw from the terms of Mediation, and help the King of *Sweden*, according to his agreement with the *English*, with all his power. But their greatest apprehensions were from the *English*, as nearest, and upon the place, not that they feared their Forces, for they were themselves double their numbers, but lest they should engage in a War, which might be easier begun than ended. But the apprehensions of the *English* and the *French* threats, did quickly vanish, for both Nations did ratifie the Treaty of the 21 of *May*, and the *English* Commissioners were daily expected at *Elzineur*.

That Bloody Faction, the disgrace and Fag end of a Parliament, who had murdered their Sovereign, had also now cashiered their pretended Protector, and having re-usurped a Tyranny over their fellow-subjects, and the most noble *English* Nation, swayed and domineered at pleasure: and thinking themselves now secure at home, extended their ambition (the only commendable thing they did) to foreign parts. Amongst others, the affairs of the North seemed most considerable. They therefore dispatched three Commissioners thither, Collonel *Algernoon Sidney*, Sir *Robert Honywood*, and Mr. *Thomas Boon*, to whom they were pleased to add

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General *Montague*, as not daring to distrust him, because he commanded the Fleet. (Though they sent him no new Commission to be Admiral ; when they did send new ones to all the rest of the Fleet.) But they excluded Sir *Philip Medow*, who had hitherto managed the whole Mediation, as jealous of his affection to their Government. These Embassadours came with Instructions and Orders to mediate a Peace betwixt the warring Kings, upon the Basis of the *Roschild* Treaty ; they were also commanded to joyn Counsels, and means with the *Dutch*, for the effecting of it according to the tenour of the *Hagues* Conventions, which obliged a mutual communication betwixt the three States. These Embassadours arrived at *Elzineur* with a splendid train, where they were received and treated by the *Swedes*, with all manner of civilities and honour: the King himself was not there, being gone to *Naskow*, then taken by his forces ; they therefore stayed there in expectation of his return, but to loose no time, had daily Conferences with the *French* and *Dutch* Embassadours, so that the whole Negotiation seemed to be carried on by common consent ; the *Swedes* were troubled at this intimacy and familiarity, affirming that it was wholly unpracticable, that Embassadours sent to a Foreign King, and not having seen that King to whom they were so deputed, should in the meantime confer and treat with the Ministers of other States, not friends of the said King, and that in his own Court or Camp. But the Kings arrival put an end to these murmurings ; the *English* Commissioners went to *Fredericksburg* where he was, and being received in the way, by a party of Horse and some Gentlemen, which the King had sent to wait upon them, were conveyed to their Lodgings in the Kings Coaches, accompanied with the Coaches of those Publick Ministers who were then at Court. Having reposed a while ; they were led to publick Audience, which passed in congratulations and mutual expressions of friendship. After Dinner, being admitted again to the Kings presence, they unfolded the secret of their Commission, the sum whereof was, the story of the *Hagues* Treaty, which the three States had agreed upon and resolved to stand to: neither did they omit to tell him, with what industry and affection, they had promoted his Majesties Interest in the said Convention. The King, who had expected better things from his friends he had so much relied upon, was troubled at this discourse. He found also that the state of his affairs had been represented to them in a lower condition than they truly were in, and that by such who either envied his felicity, or were ignorant of his condition : He therefore magnified, though modestly, the past and present, and making a Majesteous reflexion upon his own Person and Conduct, told them, He did not despair of a happy and a hoped issue to his undertakings. After this, the Mediators did all they could by joyned Counsels, by communication of affairs, by several Conferences with the two Kings their Commissioners, and by their utmost endeavours, to compose the vast

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June
23.

breaches betwixt these dissenting Princes, but to little purpose; for the *Danes* would listen to no Accommodation, that did not restore them all that had been taken from them, and include their Allies; and the *Swedes* refused to stir out of *Zeland*, unless the Fortresses and strong places of *Denmark*, were left them as Pledges for the observing of the future Peace. The time seemed to be spent not in treating, but in fruitless and quarrelsome contestations; King *Charles* caused a large Declaration to be delivered to the *Dutch*, wherein, beginning at the Wars of *Poland*, he put them in mind of the injuries and offences he had received from the *United Provinces*, not forgetting their Collusion, as he called it, about the Treaty of *Elbing*. The *Dutch* Embassadors on the other side, asserting their candor and desire of Peace, professed they were far from any thoughts of harm towards *Sweden*, proposing nothing to themselves but the security of their Confederates, and the freedom of their Commerce. About the same time, there were published two invective Manifesto's, by the two Kings Orders, against each other. They were both severe and harsh in their expressions, but being both are in print, I thought fit, in order to the brevity I propole to myself in this Relation, and out of the reverence I bear to such great Princes, to omit any further mention of them. Whilest they thus cavil in *Denmark*, there was another Treaty concluded on in the *Hague*, betwixt the three States, more advantageous for the *Danes* than the former, for *Drontheim* was restored to them, by vertue thereof, in compensation of the losses they had sustained by this last invasion. In this, as in the other Treaty of the 21 of *May*, the Ministers residing with both the Kings, were enjoined, that they should by joint Councils and Forces endeavour, and this in the space of fourteen days time, to conclude a Peace upon the Basis of the *Rotschild* Treaty, except in what is excepted in this present agreement, or should afterwards be changed by consent of the two Kings. And lastly, that they should support and assist with all their might, that Prince which should declare for Peace, and compel the unwilling by force of Arms to accept of it. This Treaty was followed by another more forcible and nervous, wherein it was agreed, that if the fourteen days mentioned in the second Treaty were not begun, when this Convention should be delivered to the Ministers in *Denmark*, that then the said term should begin within four and twenty hours after the receipt thereof. And further, that the dissenting King should by the conjoynd Forces of *England* and the *Low-Countries*, be without any intermission of time compelled to receive and accept of Peace; this was the sum of this third Convention. But the States solicitous for *Copenhagen*, sent secret Instructions and Orders to their Officers in Chief, that however affairs went, they should have a care to conserve the same, and hazard all, rather than suffer it to be lost, or change Master. Neither were the *English* ignorant of this mystery, though they disssembled it, being no less unwilling than the *Dutch*, to see this considerable

July
23.

July 25.
Aug. 4.

able City, the ballance of the North, fall into the hands of the aspiring *Swede*.

King *Charles* full of scorn and indignation, to see the Law preicribed him by others, resolved not to treat but by the ordinary way of Commissioners. He did not absolutely reject the amicable interposition of the *English* and *French*, but would by no means admit of the *Dutch*, his Enemies and actually in Arms against him, until the old and usual friendship betwixt the two Nations were renewed. King *Frederick* on the other side, professed he would do, much less conclude nothing, without the Mediators, especially the interposition of the *United Provinces*: although he did not deny, but that the Treaty begun and ripened by them, might be polished and brought to perfection by the Commissioners of both Kings. *Charles* would not hear of quitting of *Drontheim*, without an equivalent, nor be perswaded to determine any thing about the time of evacuation, or withdrawing his Army out of *Denmark*: and being urged to declare himself, grew angry; protesting though in private, that he being a King, and a Conquerour, and not inglorious, could not, nor would not suffer himself to be braved and controuled by two Commonwealths, whereof one had abdicated, and the other murdered their Prince. He was more in choller against the *English* than the other, because he expected more kindness from them than any. These he reproaches with parricide, and wonders they durst approach him, with their hands reeking with the bloud of their own Sovereign: They should therefore get them gone with their Fleet, out of the reach of his Cannon, unless they meant to try their violence. But this transport of rage and scorn, was but vented amongst his Confidants. What he said to the Embassadors themselves in publick, some time after, was of no less consequence or noise. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Commonwealths, had with communication of the *French* Embassador, framed a Concept or Form, which they called a *Project* (and which we will call so hereafter also) upon the Basis of the *Roschild* Treaty, according to the Conventions agreed on at the *Hague*. This Project or Instrument of Peace, they first presented to the King of *Denmark*, who received it, and requiring time to deliberate upon it, promised an answer. The Embassadors hereupon went the same day to the Camp, and having obtained *Steno Bielke* the *Swedish* Embassadors liberty, (for he had been thus long detained prisoner at *Copenhagen*) took him with them; fancying that so great a present would render their coming more acceptable. Being entred the Kings Lodging, and in the Anti-Chamber, his Majesty after a little stay came out to them, where Collonel *Sidney*, accompanied with all his Colleagues, and the *Dutch* Embassadors (for the *French* had withdrawn himself) after a profound Reverence, presented him a Rowl of Paper, being the aforesaid *Project*. The King asked what Papers they were: *Sidney* answered, that they contained the desires of the three States. But the King replied with a stern countenance, if it be the *Project*

Aug.
28.

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for Peace, I will not receive it: And adding, told the *English*; as for you, I will not refuse your Mediation, as long as you continue in the terms of friendship, but will suffer no Arbitrators: And then turning to the *Dutch* subjoyned, as for you, being you are my Enemies, I absolutely refuse to receive you as Mediators: and to them all, You make your Projects in your Fleets, and I (clapping his hand upon his Sword) wear mine at my side. Having said this, he left the Embassadors, and turning suddenly from them, went to the other side of the room. The *Dutch* Embassadors following him said, we are not your Majesties Enemies, and shall prove your best friends. The King looking fiercely upon them, answered, my Embassadors are unworthily used and you are suffered to go and come at pleasure. *Switzerland* replied to this, We need fear nothing from a generous Prince; and the King abruptly, I have no great resentments of generosity for such Enemies. The Embassadors would not provoke the offended King any further, but retiring with a profound and respectful Reverence, left the presence; where His Majesty having given *Bielke* his hand to kiss rallied with his great Officers, most of them having been present at this audience, upon this unusual rencounter. This indignity offered the Embassadors, was seconded with another, though not so considerable. They were scarce got into their Coaches, when it was told them, that the Trumpeter who waited upon them, was thrown into prison. Being surpris'd with this Novelty, they sent me to the King to complain of this violence, and breach of the Law of Nations. But the Trumpeter was immediately released, and his detention excused, having happened without the Kings knowledge, and done by the Generals command, not with an intent to affront the Embassie, but because he belonged to the Garrison of *Copenhagen*, which was very true.

The *Danes* were over-joyed with this ill treatment of the Embassadors, fancying that the *Dutch* would now employ their Forces against the common Enemy, without any further intermission, as well in revenge of their own injuries, as to assist their Confederates. In the mean time, Posts were dispatched into all parts, with the news of this encounter, the circumstances of it being aggravated, according to the several passions of the interested. The States General were most nettled at it, as being most concerned, and did not fail to exaggerate the affront done to the Embassadors of the three States by their Ministers in *England* and *France*, as an indignity common to them all. But the Mediators, how ever ill received at their former Audience, did not yet despair of a desired issue to their negotiation. They knew the King of *Sweden* was not wholly averse from Peace (for he had several times professed he had not espoused his Conquests, provided he did not quit them without a compensation) but from the manner of compassing it; and he was not against the officious intervention of Mediators, though he could not endure the Umpirage of their Arbitration. The *Dutch* there-

therefore seeing that he would never admit of their Mediation, unless the ancient Correspondence and Amity betwixt him and them were first restored, drew a form of reconciliation, which should put an end to all their former misunderstandings and Controversies, and sending it to *Rosenhaen* by the *French* Embassadour, wrote also to him, that they purposed to come to the Camp, to perfect the Treaty of *Elbing* and its Elucidations, and also to endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the two Kings. But being they perceived that the King of *Sweden* looked upon the States as parties, and their Ministers for that reason, as improper for the Negotiation in hand, and that it seemed not good to His Majesty, to assent to the aforesaid elucidations, before the difference betwixt himself and the States General were removed, and the ancient friendship betwixt the two Nations restored: and being they doubted whether their coming to the Camp at that time might be acceptable or not, they thought good to send an Instrument of reconciliation, with a promise that they would sign it as soon as the Peace betwixt the two Kings was concluded.

The day following the *Dutch* Embassadours being informed, that the King had not only laid by his choller, but that also he desired their return to his Court, sent me to him, to know whether their coming to the Camp, would be agreeable to his Majesty or not? And whether they should be received according to their dignities, in case they came? I being returned, and having brought word that all was as they desired, the *Heeren* *Slingland* and *Haybert* went to the Camp, where being civilly received by the Courtiers, they were immediately introduced into the Kings presence; where having first condoled with him for the death of the Duke of *Holsteyn* his father in Law, they urged what concerned the illustrations of the Treaty of *Elbing*, the Peace betwixt the two Crowns, and the reconciliation betwixt His Majesty and the States General. They most insisted upon the present Treaty, and pressed the King, that he would be pleased to declare himself as to the main heads of it, and grant his Letters of safe conduct for the *Danish* Commissioners, in such manner and form as was required. The King answered, that he desired nothing more than to cultivate the ancient friendship betwixt *Sweden* and the *United Provinces*, and had therefore sent *Coyet* his Embassadour Extraordinary into *Holland*, to represent to the States General themselves, the candor of his intentions in that particular. As for the Peace, he was not averse from it, provided it were safe and honourable; only he believed that the business would advance best, if it were carried on by Commissioners of both sides, according to the usual method betwixt the Northern Crowns. The Conference being done, the Embassadours returned to *Copenhagen*, being followed by Monsieur *Terlon* the *French* Embassadour, who brought with him the desired Passports for the *Danish* Commissioners. There was no little difficulty on both sides, about the titles of the two Kings, to be inserted in the said Passports. The *Danes* refused

Aug.
31.

refused to acknowledge the new Duke of *Schonen*, and the *Swedes* would not relinquish their acquired honours; but a middle way being proposed by the *Dutch* was embraced by both, to wit, that King *Charles* should only write himself King of *Sweden*, and King *Frederick* only King of *Denmark*, without any further additional titles, on either side. The Letters of safe Conduct being granted by the *Swedes*, others of the same tenour were required from the *Danes*, which they differing to give under pretence of new difficulties, were pressed to it by a Memorial, delivered to their King by the Commissioners of the two Commonwealths. In it, they desired His Majesty, being the Treaty could not begin, much less be concluded, without the required Passports for the *Swedes* Commissioners, that he would forthwith grant them, lest the procrastination of the so much wished for Peace, should lye at his door. The King having received this Writing, and the *Swedes* safe Conduct with it, sent also his, writ in *Danish*, by the Lord *Peter Redis* one of his Senators, to the Mediators, with a Declaration, wherein he professed that he would send Commissioners to perfect the Peace with the King of *Sweden*, provided the said King would declare his mind concerning the further Contents of the present Declaration. But being there were several Clauses in the said Declaration, not only offensive to the King of *Sweden*, but also displeasing to the *English* and *Dutch*, besides the stop it was like to put to the Treaty itself, the King was again earnestly desired both by Word and Writing by the Mediators, that omitting his late Declaration, its conditions, and restrictions; he would be pleased to send his Commissioners to the place appointed, instructed with such powers, and authority, as should be necessary for the happy Conclusion of the present Negotiation, lest (which they did abhor to think on) they should be necessitated to judge that he had no thoughts of Peace, being he refused the means by which it was to be effected. The King seeing himself so sharply pressed by the Mediators, did at length deliver them a more satisfactory Declaration, whereby he did consent to all that was desired, as far as agreeing with the Decrees of the three Sates, of the 11th of *May*, 12th of *July*, and the 25th ^{Jul.} ^{4 Aug.} The *French* Embassadour went the same day to the Camp, with this Declaration and Letters of safe Conduct, and though the *Swedes* desired some things in them to be changed, that was also assented to. The day following the Lords *Rosenhaen* and *Bielke* came from the Camp, and the Lords *Pasberg* and *Magnus Hoeg*, from the City, and met in the Tents pitched about the mid-way betwixt the City and Camp: the Deputies of the three States were likewise assisting at this Conference, in whose presence the two Kings Commissioners having saluted each other in their proper idioms professed their mutual desires and endeavours for peace: the *Danes* did mainly urge, that the most material things should be first treated on, and that without delay; and having delivered a Paper to the *Swedes*, demanded, that being the King of *Denmark* had been unexpected-

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ly invaded, even then when he hoped to enjoy the real effects of the *Rotschild* treaty; that the King of *Sweden* should forthwith restore unto him all the Provinces, Lands, Forts, Places and moveables, which he was obliged to surrender by vertue of the said Treaty. 2 That a just and equitable satisfaction be made in lieu of all the vast losses which they had suffered by this last Invasion. 3 That the evacuation of all those places to be restored should immediatly follow. 4 That all the *Danish* Captives, and such who had been transported out of the Provinces subject to *Denmark* (for the *Swedes* had pressed and sent some thousands of the *Danish* youth into *Prussia*, *Liefland*, and their other remote Conquests) should be set at liberty. And lastly, that the King of *Denmarks* Confederates should be duly included in this Treaty. The *Swedes* on the other side, did urge that a more fit place should be chosen to treat in, and that the parties should agree upon the manner and form of treating, before they entered upon the business it self. As for the Mediators, they would not refuse their Amicable intermedling in greater difficulties; but if they intended to direct or decide matters, by vertue of their *Hagues* Conventions, or any other pretext whatsoever, they professed it could not be, as being a thing without example, and not to be admitted by the Kings themselves, without a manifest intrusion upon their dignities and honour. Two days after they met again, and the *Treaty of Rothschild* was reassumed and read by the Commissioners of both sides, but being there arose several contests about its third Article, the explication of it was referred by the *Danes* to the Mediators: these taking hold of the occasion, went to the *Swedes* into their Tents, and delivering them the projected *Treaty* which they had formerly presented their King, desired them to recommend it to His Majesty, and entreat his speedy answer to it; the *Swedes* Commissioners received the *Treaty* though not without some difficulty, with promise they would present it to His Majesty, and enquire into his pleasure concerning it.

The *Dutch* Commissioners seeing that the Dayes of Celsation from Arms was past (for they were as well Generals as Embassadors) wrote to their Admiral *Opdam*; that whereas the King of *Sweden* had positively refused his Declaration for Peace, and that the King of *Denmark* had satisfied the desires of the three States, he should therefore make War upon the *Swedes* where he could meet with them, relieve the City, in as much as in him lay with provisions, and hasten *De Ruyter* whom they daily expected, with all possible speed. In the last *Hagues* Convention, it was agreed; that the Plenipotentiaries of both Commonwealths, should deliberate and determine amongst themselves, what force and what number of Ships they thought sufficient to carry on the design in *Denmark*, and that the rest, as superfluous and extream expensive, should be sent to their respective homes again: the truth was, the *Dutch* Embassadors had Orders, not to dismiss above twenty of their Ships, nor those but with this precaution, that the remaining
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should be sufficient to execute the Convention of the twenty fourth of *July*, neither should the said Ships be Licensed but with the *English*, not before them, and by no means after them; and that the number of the dismissed Vessels, should by no means exceed that of the *English*, but if possible be less. The *English* ignorant of this, pressed that the precise number of Ships which were to Winter in *Denmark*, should be determined, but being the *Dutch* seemed unwilling to divide their Fleet as yet, General *Montague* declared in the name of his Colleagues, that being the Dutch Commissioners would not define, according to the Conventions betwixt the two Commonwealths, how many of their Ships should joyn with an equal number of *English* men of War, and how many of both Fleets should after the said conjunction be returned home, they were resolved, wanting also provisions for so great a multitude, to send their whole Fleet back into *England*. This, he said, they did not with an intent to depart from the Conventions betwixt the two Commonwealths, or that they had any new design on foot, but really forced to it through want of necessaries, for the subsistence of so great a Fleet. The *Dutch* seemingly endeavoured to divert the *English* from this resolution, and shewing them where and in what manner, they might procure what provisions they pleased, they besought them, being the common Interest was to be carried on with common and conjoyned power, they would not withdraw theirs, seeing that could not be without a diminution of the dignity and credit of the two Commonwealths, a weakening of their Mediation with the two Kings, and a manifest retarding of the present Negotiation. After this, several Propositions were made concerning the number of Ships to be left behind, and the *English* were invited to leave only fifteen of theirs, whilst the whole *Dutch* Fleet continued there until further Orders from the States General, but yet with this restriction, that they should attempt nothing without communication of Councils with the *English* Plenipotentiaries, and being the *English* were averse from such odds, and so unequal forces, as neither safe nor honourable, the *Dutch* offered them a solemn Instrument of Assurance under their hands and seals, and that one of their Commissioners should (as a further testimony of their candor and sincerity) not only trust his person in the *English* Fleet, but continue in the same, to communicate Councils with *Montague*, and deliberate of what should concern the generality of their affairs, according to emergencies. *Sidney* did hereupon confess, that they had no Orders to send away their Fleet at all, but on the contrary, commands to observe the *Hague* Convention. But *Montague*, of whose mind *Honniwood* and *Boon* also was, being urged to declare himself, answering very ambiguously, broke the conference, and next day leaving *Copenhagen*, went to the *Sound*, and having saluted King *Charles* at *Cronenburg*, where he was royally treated, and all his chief Officers and Captains honoured with Presents, he sailed with his whole Fleet towards
England

Sept. 5.

England, then full of Commotion and tumult. The sudden departure of the Admiral, surpris'd and troubled the minds of all parties: The *Swedes* were grieved that the *Sound*, their Havens, and the Sea, lay now open to the prevailing *Dutch*, whilst the *Danes* interpreting all things in the worst sense, fancied that *Montague* was therefore gone, because he would not now war against the *Swedes*, now openly refusing Peace; and that all those Truces extorted hitherto from the States General, had been prolonged in favour of their Enemies. The *Dutch* also seemed to condemn this withdrawing of the *English*, as happening contrary to their Treaties, and even then when they were to act by vertue of them. But this was but in outward shew, for they did inwardly rejoyce that this Imperious Fleet was gone, and they at length at liberty to act without controul. But *Sidney* and his Colleagues were more really troubled at the absence of their Forces, not being ignorant how weak their disputes were like to prove against an armed Mediation. They were also more nearly grieved at the Admirals return, as sensible of the great forces he commanded, and his averseness to the present Government. And truly they were not deceived, for whilst all *England*, weary of the tyranny of the Regicides, prepared to vindicate their Liberties by Arms, requiring tacitely their Prince, but openly a Free Parliament. *Montague* being invited and commanded by the King of *Great Britain*, into whose grace and favour he had lately been restored, hastened thither with his Naval forces, to assist those just, however unfortunate endeavours.

The day after *Montague's* departure, the Commissioners met again in the Tents, where the *Danes* demanded an Answer to their former Proposals, declaring withall, that their King induced by the desires and perswasions of the Mediators, had consented to, and would willingly accept of their Project for Peace, so far forth as it agreed with the *Hagues* Conventions. They therefore desired to know whether the King of *Sweden* had likewise done it, protesting they would otherwise proceed no further. The *English* and *Dutch* Embassadors pressed the same, urging the *Swedes* to declare, what Orders their King had given, in answer to their just Propositions. *Rosenhaen* being thus put to it, replied, that they had indeed delivered their King the Mediators Project, professing further that His Majesty would omit nothing on His part for the compassing of an equitable and honourable Peace; to which end he declared, that the Mediatours endeavours should be most acceptable to him, provided they interposed only when they were required, and that as friends, not Arbitrators; leaving the disposing of affairs, to the Commissioners of both Kings. This he said was His Majesties resolution, who could not chuse but wonder, to see that a Treaty made at the *Hague*, by the three States, and that without his knowledge, should be also obtruded upon him, and that without his consent. He further added, that it was a thing wholly unpractical, that Commonwealths should prescribe Laws to Kings at pleasure, and never heard

of in History, that Mediatours should undertake to press or compel dissenting Princes, even against their wills, to accept of their fancies and conceptions, as Laws. This therefore being so, his Majesty could not answer to those kind of proposals: But if they would treat after the old fashion, and according to the method hitherto observed betwixt the *Northern Crowns*, he did not doubt, but the way to the so much desired Peace, would be plain and easie. Monsieur *Terlon* the *French* Embassadour, arrived there at the same time, and declared to the Mediators, that the Commissioners had truly and fully told them the Kings sense, in order to the present transaction, as he himself had understood it from His Majesties own mouth at *Cronenburg*, from whence he came; adding, that he was very angry with *Rosenbaen* and *Bielke*, for receiving their *Project* without his orders, and had not pardoned them, if he had not mainly interceded for them.

The *Dutch* Embassadours being returned to *Copenhagen*, sent Orders to *De Ruyter* and *Everson*, to act with all their Forces both by Sea and Land, against the *Swedes*, and make war upon them, wherever they met with them. The next day they gave the *English* and *French* Ministers notice of what they had done, which could not at all (as they affirmed) retard the Peace, which was (being it could not be procured otherwise) to be thus sought for according to the intention of the three States. In the mean time, they perswaded them to continue their endeavours, and that with joynt advice, to which also they would contribute their utmost. As for the meetings in the Tents, they declared they could not, and that for weighty reasons, come thither any more, until it appeared that the *Swedes* did accept of the States Generals Mediation, and would receive their Embassadours according to their dignity. The rest of the Mediators acknowledged that the *Dutch* had done nothing contrary to the Covenants betwixt them, and promised that they would not act as Mediators any more, but conjoyntly with them.

But the Treaty did not break off for all this: The *English* and *French* after Communication with the *Dutch*, meet the *Swedes* again; who propounded *Rotschild* or *Elzineur*, as fitter and more convenient places to treat in, which the *Danes* did not only oppose, but the *Dutch* also absolutely reject, being unwilling to remove so far from the City or Sea. Two days after, *Sidney* and *Terlon* returned to the Camp, to see whether the King of *Sweden* had yet given any Answer either to the *Danes* Demands, or to the Propositions of the three States, but in vain, for the *Swedes* Commissioners did plainly tell them, that it would be but lost labour to insist any more upon this way, for the *Danish* Demands were couched in such general terms, that it would be to no purpose to Answer them so; and as for the *Project* proposed by the Mediators, they positively declared, that the King would hazard all, and venture his own life, rather than to submit to the dictates of others, being he could not do it, without infringing his honour, and his reputation. Lastly, they

they protested he desired nothing more then Peace, provided it were not imposed upon him, and proposed, (being the Tents were no fit place to treat and meet in, by reason of the cold and approaching Winter) that they should all go to *Roschild, Elzincur, or Fredericksburg*, as more proper for so celebrated an Assembly. The Mediators seeing the *Swedes* immovable and resolved, desired the King of *Denmark*, that he would be pleased not only to continue the Treaty, which they did not yet despair of perfecting, but also to change the place for one of those already proposed, as more convenient. But the King replied, that this could not be, before the King of *Sweden* had declared, as himself had done, that he would accept of that form which the Mediators had presented, and given his answer to the five aforementioned Articles. The Embassadors were not well pleased with this Declaration of the Kings, especially the *English* and *French*, who seemed now to doubt whether of the two Kings was most refractory, or ought to be esteemed least desirous of Peace. Hereupon the Embassadors went again to Court, and pressed the King so far, that he was content, (though with much urging) to joyn the Lord *Gesdorf*, his chief Minister of State, to his other Commissioners, but upon condition, that the States Generals Fleet and Land-Forces, should continue to prosecute the War against the *Swedes*, until the Treaty were brought to a desired conclusion. And thus the Treaty was re-assumed, but the place of treating was not changed, only the Tents were taken away, and Houses made of Planks, of better proof against the extremity of the Weather, raised in their places. The Commissioners did indeed sometimes meet, though their Conventions proved wholly fruitless, these contests for Peace being necessitated to give way to the more clamorous and more severe disputes of War.

During these traverses and treaties, *Copenhagen* continued blocked up by Sea and Land. The *Swedes* had lain before the Haven the whole Summer, with four, sometimes five Ships, so that the City laboured with the want of all things, especially fresh Meats and Firing. The *Dutch* Fleets lay useles in the Great *Belt*, kept up by Cessations or contrary Winds, and could not help them; whilst the *English* lying betwixt the Town and the Island of *Ween* as Neutrals, did not assist them; until the General being advertised by me, who was newly come from Court, and had seen the miseries thereof (a few Herrings and a piece of salt Beef, being the best *regalia* at the Kings Table) did send a Vessel fraught with all manner of Fowl and fresh Meats, for the Kings children. The Court moved with the *English* Generals munificence, sent two Senators in an *English* man of War, which I procured them from him, to complement and thank him. They were received by the Admiral, with all sort of honour befitting their qualities, to whom, after the usual expressions of gratitude and kindness, they represented and recommended the afflicted condition of their affairs, and lest they might be thought to yield in civility to the generous General, they returned

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his favour with an Honorary of *Rhenish* Wine. After this, the Citizens received several considerable refreshments from other parts. The Embassadors, both *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, did ordinarily reside in the City, but had their provisions from abroad, by permission from the *Swedes*, under which pretence their servants carried great quantities into the Town, the surplus whereof they sold at good rates to the eager buyers. The *Swedes* were not ignorant of this kind of Commerce, but connived at it, as sharing in the profits; for their Officers by this means got monies for the Cattle, which the said Servants bought from them in great numbers, upon condition they would suffer them to pass with them into the City in safety. But this traffick ended with the coming of the *Dutch* fleet, which arrived at *Copenhagen* the second day after *Montagues* departure, who from the beginning of *June* to this time, had lain betwixt *Ween* and *Zeland*, as if he would cover the *Sound* on this side, as he had formerly done it on the other, when he hovered betwixt *Lap* and *Koll*. *De Ruyter* the day after his arrival, sailed towards the *Sound*, and having blocked up the Haven of *Lanskröwn* continued there. There lay two men of War under *Cronenburg*, which he designed to ruine, but his Fireships failing him, he attempted them no further, the loss which he might suffer in the enterprise, not countervailing the victory. It seemed likewise too hazardous, to enter the Haven of *Lanskröwn*, though the ruine of the *Swedish* Fleet which lay in it seemed infallible, the difficulty was to get out again through so many Volleys, which the Castle and Batteries on shore, might thunder upon them, especially if the Wind proved contrary. Besides, it may reasonably be thought that the *Dutch* design was not to destroy, but to humble the *Swedes*. However it was, they contented themselves with lying before the Haven at present, and shutting up the Enemy within his receptacles. But lest the Fleet might seem to do nothing at all, Collonel *Killegrew*, who commanded the Land forces at present on board, was sent with 1200 commanded men, 11 ships of War, and 7 Fluyts, under the direction of *Cornelius Eversen* Rear-Admiral of *Zeland*, to intercept *Keucks*. King *Fredrick* had been advertised by his Spies, that there were not above 200 men in the Town, and the Works on the side next the Sea were open, which was true; But the *Swedes* having notice of this Design before hand, had filled the place with armed men. King *Charles* was come thither also in person, and all things were in a readiness to receive these new guests. *Killegrew* knowing nothing of these preparations, was advanced within a League and a half of the Town, with intention to sail up close to it, but a sudden calm preventing him, he was forced to expect the day, which discovered the Enemies countenance and numbers, and posture; so that finding, that instead of surprizing them, he should be inevitably lost himself, he commanded his men, (four hundred whereof had been put into Boats with design to land) back to the Fleet, which was no sooner done, but the Enemies bodies of Horse which had lurked

Sept. 7.
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lurked in the Wood appeared, as also the danger they had infallibly run into, if the Wind had continued blowing an hour longer. The *Danes* had at the same time surpris'd *Udstead* a Town in *Schoonen*, which *Killegrew* having notice of, had Orders likewise to hasten thither to their Succour, which he did, but they had dislodged before he could get to them, for the place was not very tenable, and the Enemy made head on all sides against them. Having therefore met them by the way, they returned all together to *Copenhagen*, with a purpose to land the Auxiliaries, which had thus long languish'd on Shipboard: but they were much surpris'd to see the Citizens refuse them entry, who fearing peradventure such numerous ayds, told them plainly, they were strong enough to defend themselves. This refusal, did much cool the *Dutch* kindness towards them, who not examining whether their diffidence were just or not, took it ill to be denied any thing from them, who owed them for all they enjoyed. Besides, the Land souldiers were hereby subjected to sicknesses, as being out of their Element, and oblig'd by this stay, to consume those Provisions which were only designed for the Seamen. Neither were the *Danes* content to defend themselves only, they designed also the recovery of *Cronenburg*, which had probably been effected, if not discovered by a miracle.

The men of *Elzineur* were the contrivers of this Plot, who having gained some of the Garrison, thought the Victory secure. Seven or eight hundred men worked daily at the New Fortifications, and the Countrey was summon'd to carry Wood, and Fuel for the Provision of the Castle. The design was to arm those Car-men, who were nigh fourscore strong, with short Swords and Pistols, who were order'd to overturn a Waggon or two in the very entry of the Castle, and thereupon to call their Companions to their aid, as if it had been done by accident. Being come together, they were to fall immediatly upon the Guard at the Gate, whilst the Townsmen, who were ready in their Houses, should hasten to their assistance, and the aforesaid Workmen be invited with their Spades and Mattocks, instead of other arms, to their liberty, and to the spoil. The plot being thus laid, the Contrivers and chief Actors in it, who had given the Court intelligence of it, were mainly encouraged by promises thence, and the glory of Delivering their Country, to dare any thing; which they had infallibly put in execution, if they had not been strangely discovered. The man that carried their Letters to *Copenhagen*, and brought them their Orders and directions thence, had pass'd several times with a little Boat, as if he had gone a fishing along the shore, betwixt the Town and City. He had often slipped by the men of War undiscern'd, which was no hard matter, considering the distance they lay from the shore, the largeness of the Sea, and the favour of the night. It happened, that in going by, he saw the Admirals Long-boat put off, which frightened him into a fancy that it was after him, and fearing to be taken, he threw his Packet of Letters with a Stone tied

tied at them into the Sea, and made away with all the hast he could. But when he saw that the *Swede* had taken another Course, as not minding him, he then began to condemn his vain fear and precipitation; however glad, that his Letters which the Sea had swallowed, were not fallen into the Enemies hands. But he was deceived, for the string that tied the Packet to the stone being split, or broke, the Letters floated, and were carried by the Tide, which in the
 N.6. Streights of *Denmark*, as also the whole *Baltick Sea*, waits upon the Wind, to *Lanskrown*; where being taken up by a Souldier that accidentally walked upon the shore, they were brought to the Governour, and so the whole design discovered, and prevented, by the punishment of such of its Contrivers, that did not save themselves by a timely retreat.

The Plot to surprize *Malmuyen* one of the Chief Towns of *Schoonen*, was no less odly discovered, than this of *Cronenburg*, the Messengers that were employed by the Conspirators, used to hide their Letters in a Wood, in a hole covered with Earth and Sods, where they also found their Answers; so that the business was come to some ripeness, when an unhappy Fox ranging that way, and smelling at that new Earth, scrap'd it up in search of somewhat to prey upon. This being observed by an accidental Passenger, who curious to see what the industrious beast was doing, found the Letters which contained and detected the whole progress of the conjuration. I cannot tell how truly I have related the particulars of these Conspiracies, though they were thus told me by several persons of credit: but being I dare not affirm them in all their particulars though they are most true in the general (as the rest of this Relation for undoubted certainties) the Reader may take the same liberty in believing what he pleases, as I did in writing of them.

The King of *Denmark* having at length obtained permission to employ the *Dutch* Auxiliaries, thought fit to undertake somewhat of consequence before Winter. Having therefore got together all the small Vessels and Ships of burthen which the City could afford, *de Ruyter* was by consent of the States Embassadors, sent with all his Fleet towards *Holsteyn*, with Order to embark the Land-Army that was there, and carry it according to such directions as he had or should receive. Whilest he was on his way thither, accompanied with the prayers and wishes of the Citizens for his good success, Admiral *Opdam*, who had kept the Sea the whole Summer, came to *Copenhagen*, bringing with him a great number of Vessels
 O⁸ob. 26. loaden with Fuel and other Provisions. His stay there was not long, so that having taken his leave of the King (who regaled him with a Present of three thousand pounds, and three hundred pounds yearly for his son, in consideration of his eminent services) and of the City which he had saved, he passed the *Sound* the second time,
 Nov. 4. discharging his Cannon at the Castles as he sailed by, and after twelve Moneths absence, arrived safe in *Holland*, where having given the States a summary Report of his actions, and negotiations in the

the North, he received (though not without some opposition) the publick thanks of the Assembly, for his prudent and valorous Conduct.

King *Charles* was gone to *Nykopping* in *Falster*, where he continued some time, to be nearer *Pomerania*, where the Confederates domineered at pleasure, and the better to observe the motion of the *Dutch Fleet*. Collonel *Sidney* and Sir *Robert Honniwood*, as also the *French* Embassadour, not yet despairing of Peace, went thither to him; which the *Dutch* being looked upon as Enemies, refused to do: but yet that it might appear how desirous they were of an Accommodation, they dispatched me with Letters and Messages, intimating so much to His Majesty. The Plenipotentiaries being arrived at *Nykopping*, began to treat again, but being nothing could be concluded without the *Dutch*, it was thought good to invite them also thither, which was done by Letters from the Court, from the Embassadours, and from me, by the Kings order and the other Embassadours entreaty. They had also Passports sent them from the King, and a Convoy, with some of His Majesties servants to wait upon them and serve them by the way, so that there appeared now more hopes than ever, of composing these ruinous differences. Being come to *Nykopping*, they were lodged and defrayed by the Kings Order, and the Treaty was re-assumed with no less expectation, than seeming propension to a Peace on all sides. But these flourishes quickly vanished, for the King persisting in his former opinion, and the Embassadors not departing from theirs, there was nothing concluded. The *Swedes* Commissioners having exhibited some previous demands to the Mediatours, declared, that they must be first granted, before they could come to the main business of Peace. These were, that the three States should first jointly and generally, and then severally, and apart; stand good and be bound for the performance of the Treaty with *Denmark*. That they should undertake, that the War which the Emperour and Electour of *Brandenburg* had raised in *Germany*, and did actually wage against the *Swedish* Provinces there, in favour of *Denmark*, should be laid aside with all speed, and a plenary restitution made of all they had taken therein; and that they should become Sureties that the King of *Sweden* should not be disturbed for the future, by any, contrary to the *German* Instrument of Peace. Further, in case the aforesaid Enemies should refuse to restore what they had violently usurped; that then the three States should compel them to it by force, and interpose and engage, for the *Swedes* future defence and security in those Provinces, which appertained to them. Lastly, these things being thus granted, the King of *Sweden* would then condescend (in favour of the three States) to a Peace with *Denmark*, and that upon the Basis of the *Roschild* Treaty, taken in its right and genuine sense, which could not otherwise be done. The Mediatours answered to these Demands, that the three States would become sureties

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sureties for, and engage themselves to assert what ever should be agreed upon betwixt the Kings. That (as soon as the Peace was made in *Denmark*) they would use their utmost endeavours to compose the Wars in *Germany*, and oblige the Emperour and Elector of *Brandenburg*, to restore those places they had taken from the *Swedes*. That the King of *Sweden* should for his part, in the interim consent to a pacification according to the *Roschild Treaty*, save that the second Article of it should be so interpreted, that either, and both of the Kings, should be at liberty to Treat and make Leagues with any Prince, or Commonwealth whatsoever, for the mutual defence of themselves and States. That all dubious expressions in the said *Treaty*, should be explained or expunged, to impede new disputes. That the Castle, City, and Territory of *Drontheim*, should be restored to the King of *Denmark*, in consideration of all those vast losses which he had suffered by this last invasion; And lastly, that there should be a time prefixed for the removal of the *Swedish* Garrisons and Armies, out of all the Isles and Provinces of *Denmark*, and that in all other things and particulars, the *Treaty of Roschild* should stand in full force and vigour. They made also other propositions, concerning a free passage through the *Sound*, about removing of misunderstandings betwixt the *Swedes* and *United Provinces*, the Ratification of the *Treaty of Elbing*, the Peace with *Poland*, and of restoring the old friendship, betwixt the King of *Sweden* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*. And these were the Proposals made on the King and Mediators sides, but his Majesty seemed the most refractory, not that he was averse from Peace, for he had too many Enemies to struggle with, but lest he might be thought to desire it for fear of War, and even then when he was most threatened.

In the mean time, the dayes were passed in Feasting and Hunting, the King having then invited the Mediators to those diversions. His Majesty was at Table with the said Embassadors, when he received the news of the Enemies Fleet and Land-Armies being at Sea; neither did he therefore quit his Guests, but concealing the matter, continued his feasting till late in the night. The next morning betimes, he surrounded the Island, viewed its Forts, and left good Guards at all its Entries & Avenues, in case the Enemy should attempt to land there; but being advertised by quick Posts, and manifold Beacons, which he had ordered upon all the heights in the Country, that the Fleet was entred the *Great Belt*, he flew with all the Forces he could get together to *Corsenr*, a Sea Town in *Zeland*: Being come thither, he perceived that the Enemies design was upon *Funen*. He therefore sent Field-Marshal *Steynboch* thither, with Orders to the Prince of *Sulzbach*, to quit the Island, and transport himself and all his Forces (leaving only a Garrison in *Newburg*) into *Zeland*. But these Orders came too late, for they did

did not only want shipping in *Funen*, but the whole Streight was covered with the Enemies numerous Fleet. The King seeing this, dispatcht an Expres to His Admiral, to hasten thither with the Fleet which lay in the Haven of *Lanskrown*, with all possible speed. He being upon the Point to hoist sail, received contrary commands to stay, which were again followed by other Orders to come away; and yet others in the neck of them not to stir, and all in one and the same day: so uncertain he was what to determine. One while he resolved to fight them at Sea, but finding the odds too great, would pass over into *Funen* in person. He fretted to see the Enemy brave it in his presence, and could not suffer that his Army should engage in his absence. But he had no shipping ready, and the Enemy were absolutely Masters at Sea, so that it was impossible for him either to fight them, or joyn with his own Troops.

And thus this brave Prince, being hurried betwixt the passions of hope, and a generous fear, was forced against his Nature and practise, to become a Spectator, whilest others plaid his part, but with their own Fortune.

O THE



THE HISTORY

Of the Late
Warres in Denmark;
BETWIXT
The Two Northern Crowns.

The Third Part.



Field-Marshal *Schack*, Commander of the *Danish* Forces, had embarked at *Kiel* in *Holstein*. His Army consisted of Eighteen hundred Horse, Six hundred Foot, and forty Companies (though not exceeding two thousand five hundred men) of *Dutch* Auxiliaries. The *Germans*, *Polish*, and *Brandenburger* ayds marched by Land, under the Conduct of Field-Marshal *Ebersteyn*, towards *Middlefare*, where they were to pass over into *Funen*, some ships of War having been sent thither to facilitate their transport. Whilst they were on their way by Land, the Sea Forces advanced with more ease & speed, and being past *Langlands Point*, were come within sight of *Newburg*. They cast anchor in the mouth of the Haven, and resolved at a Council of War, to endeavour to land there. Lieutenant General *Alefeld*, was sent with two thousand men to execute this design, but most of the Boats which carried the Soldiers, having lost their way in the dark, and being scattered and dispersed

perfed by the ill-Weather, the Wind blowing high and contrary, they returned again to the Fleet, without attempting what they were fent for. And truly it was well they did not, for the defcent there was, by reason of the Enemies frequent Forts and numerous troops, very difficult and hazardons; As foon as the day appeared, they weighed Anchor again, and leaving *Newburg* coasted the shore as far as *Cartmund*. When they were come near the Town, which is feated at the mouth of the River *Carta*, from whence it hath its denomination, and had viewed it well, the place feemed very abordable, in fo much that it was unanimoufly refolved to try their fortune there, with hopes of better fuccels than at *Newburg*. The Boats therefore were immediately filled with Souldiers, and commanded towards the shore. The *Danes* had the Van, being no lefs eager of the honour, than defirous of performing their own bufinefs: But being they did not advance as faft as was required, and that the Boats, by reason of their loading and the shallownefs, could not move further; Collonel *Killegrew*, Sir *Walter Vane*, (Monsieur *Buat*, who was with the *Danes* in the Vanguard and first quitted his Shallop) Sir *John Skelton*, and the reft in *Killegrew's* Boat, leapt into the Water, being breast-high, and being followed by all the *Netherland Auxiliaries*, made towards Land. The Town gave and received feveral Vollies of fhott as they waded along. Some few *Swedish* Horfe advanced into the Sea, but were eafily repelled and beat back. The Cannon from the Ships thundring from all parts inceffantly upon the Shore, the Bridges, and the neighbouring Town, did much facilitate the landing, by forcing the Enemy, unable to refift its violence, to retire. The Town was alfo poffeffed that night, being abandoned by the *Swedes*, and the reft of the Army was landed with all imaginable fpeed, though much time was fpent in getting the Horfe on shore. *Shack* hearing nothing of *Eberfteyns* advance, continued at *Cartmund* for fome days, until the Army being fully refrefhed, it was refolved, they fhould march towards *Odenfea*, the chief Town of the Ifle, and feated in the middle of it: But their motion was but flow, by reason they had the Enemy in Front, who had alfo poffeffed all the Streights and narrow Paffages in their way.

The Prince of *Sulzbach* was General of the *Swedish* Forces in the Ifland. His Army was not great, not exceeding five thoufand effective Souldiers (which were encreafed to that number by the additional Foot which the King had caufed to be conveyed over by night, to re-inforce his Troops there, when he faw it impoffible to transport them out of the Ifland) but it was high in reputation; and yet he could not hinder the Enemies landing at *Cartmund*, or thought it lefs hazardous to fight them afterwards, than to expofe his men to the certain danger of their Cannon. And yet he was cenfured, becaufe he did not engage either then, or when they were landed, or at any time before their conjunction, though he could not avoid it afterward. His chief care now was, to hinder the uniting
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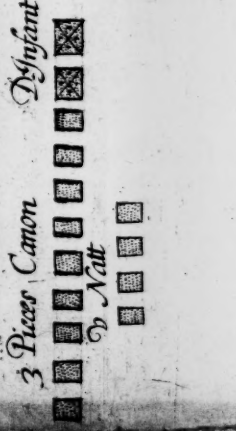
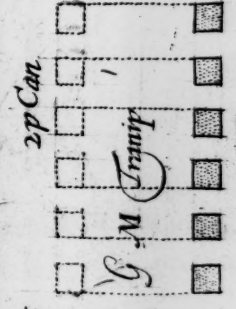
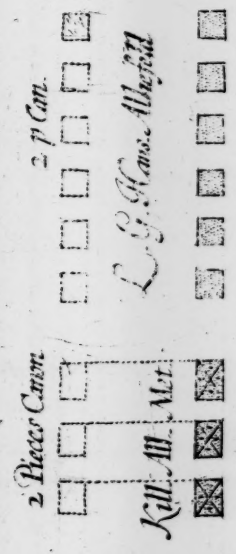
of the two Armies, and therefore he had planted himself in those advantageous Streights, betwixt *Cartmund* and *Odensea*. But hearing that *Ebersteyn* was likewise landed, contrary to his expectation, and the opinion he had of those Troops which he had ordered to oppose him, he changed his mind: for fearing he might be himself inclosed betwixt two such powerful adversaries, he marched with all his Forces to *Newburg*, where he posted himself, with a resolution to receive and fight the Enemy in his advantages. *Eberstein* had passed that arm of the Sea which divides *Holstein* from *Funen* at *Middlefare*, without the loss of one single man. He had four Imperial Regiments, as many *Brandenburgers*, six hundred *Polish* horse, six hundred *Danish* Dragoons, and a thousand horse of the same Nation with him. All these were waisted over in three dayes and nights time, in thirteen Boats (the Troopers holding and training their Horses by the bridles, whilest they swam after them) without any opposition at all. There were indeed two men of War, and two other armed Vessels appointed to meet *Ebersteyn* at *Middlefare*, and also to transport those troops that were in the Islet of *Alsen* into *Funen*, but being detained by contrary Winds, they were forced to the Isle of *Aroe*, where they had intelligence of some *Swedes* ships loaden with prey and spoil, that lay in an Inlet by *Alsen*, which they took with their long Boats, and plundered without resistance: the *Swedes* which were in *Middlefare*, and in the Forts and trenches along the shore, quitted them contrary to their custom, and the wonted bravery of that Nation, at first sight of the Enemy; and leaving above thirty peeces of Cannon behind them, and other warlike provisions, retired; leaving an uninterrupted passage for the pursuers to follow. *Ebersteyn* wondring he had got over so easily, was afraid the Enemy had laid some ambush for him, which made him move slowly, so that he was seven dayes in marching so many miles to *Odensea*, where he found *Schack* and *Killegren*, who had been there three dayes before him, and waited his coming. All the Confederate Forces being now joyned, amounted to near nine thousand, so that surmounting the *Swedes* in numbers, they resolved to go search them out, and give them battle where ever they could find them: there was some little dispute betwixt the two Generals about the precedency. *Ebersteyn* pretended it as eldest Field-Marshal, and *Schack* would not submit, being more immediatly commissioned for the present expedition. It was therefore agreed, that each should command his own men, and lead the Avantguard by turns. The next day they broke up, and *Ebersteyn* having the Van they marched four miles; the day following they came to *Maselboom*, a mile and a half from *Newburg*, and on the fourteenth, saw the Enemy drawn up in Battle-array expecting of them: the Right Wing of the *Swedes* Army, consisting of ten Squadrons of Horse, was lead by the Prince himself, four whereof composing the Reserve, being commanded by Major General *Becker*, one hundred Dragoons closed this Wing on the right hand, and the Front was strengthened with

Nov.
14
31

with three peeces of Cannon ; the left Wing equalled this in strength and order, conducted by Lieutenant General *Horn*, and the Count of *Waldec* : But the main Body, consisting of four Battalions of Foot, though not exceeding fourteen hundred in all, and five peeces of Ordnance, were commanded by Marshal *Steynbock*, sent thither to assist the young Prince, with his more aged Counsels. The *Town* and a *Wood*, covered the Army behind, so that their Rear was secure, and a long continued Ditch with some water in it, where the ground was lowest, interposed betwixt their Front, and the larger *Campania*: there were some Avenues in the aforesaid Ditch, through which the Bodies of Horse did move, when they engaged on either side. *Eberstejn* seeing the Enemies order put also his Army into Battalia, Major General *Quast* commanded his Right Wing, consisting of the Imperial Regiments, some few *Poles*, and a Company of *Danish* Dragoons; Count *Vander Nat*, with his own Regiment and part of Collonel *Mathew's*, made up the Reserve: the *Danish* Infantry being but two small Bodies, composed the main Battle, being otherwise strengthened with fourteen peeces of Cannon; the Left Wing made up of *Brandenburgers*, *Poles*, one troop of *Eberstejn's* Regiment, and a few Dragoons, was encreased by five *Dutch* Companies, under the Command of Lieutenant Collonel *Aquila*: the rest of *Eberstejn's* own, and *Konenberg's* whole Regiment, were appointed for Reserves. Marshal *Schack* had by this time also put his Army into Battalia, his Right Wing being commanded by Lieutenant General *Alefeld*, and his left by Major General *Tramp*: the *Netherland* Auxiliaries, made up of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* Companies, divided into three Regiments, and lead by their three Collonels, *Killegrew*, *Allova*, and *Meitteren*, composed the main Battle. *Killegrew* commanded these in chief, and the rest of the Officers, excepting *Allova* who was absent by sickness, and Sir *Walier Vane*, who worthily discharged the Office of Major General, marched with their several Companies, and in their several places. Marshal *Eberstejn* had chosen the Left Wing, because he would be opposit to the Enemies right, which *Schack* observing, drew up his troops on his right, so that both Armies thus united, made but one, though a very irregular Front, which was occasioned through *Eberstejn's* hast to engage, and the disorders which usually arrive in such encounters. The Armies being thus ranged, they met and fought with no less desires than bravery, and the Battle proved doubtful as well as hot, until the *Netherlanders*, the rest being broken and disordered, turned the day, by only keeping firm, and snatched the Victory out of the *Swedes* hands. *Eberstejn* had before the Battle began, sent four hundred Horse to observe the Enemies order and countenance, who advancing too far, were rudely received and beaten back to their main Body. In the mean time, the *Eberstenians* move on, and marching on to the *Swedes* Ditch, endeavoured with great coutage to beat them from it, but being as bravely received, they

Brokenhuse

Knele



Schack

Daner

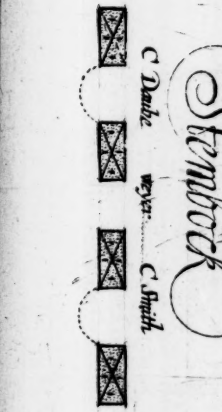
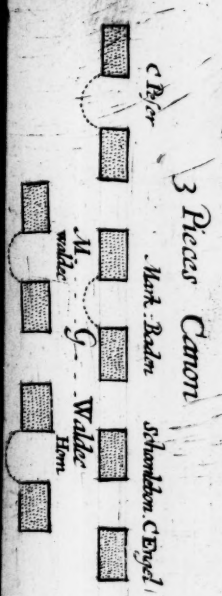
Scherstein

Sueder

L. G. Horn

5 Pieces Canon
Stimbok

Dr Sussbach



they were forced back with great loss, all the Officers of *Eberstejns* own Regiment, being either slain or wounded. Neither was *Shacks* fortune better, all his Horse being broken, and routed, so that if the *Swedes* had not been hindered by their own Ditch to pursue their advantage at once, by hindering the Enemy to rally behind the *Dutch* Foot, they had infallibly got the Day. *Killegrew* seeing the Horse beaten, marched up in good order to the Ditch, and firing continually by Ranks as he advanced, forced the *Swedes* Foot to quit it, and retire further into the Field behind them. The *Swedes* endeavoured to make head again, but being again disordered, were charged, broken, and cut in pieces by the *Polish* and *Danish* Horse, who were returned to the fight. *Alefeld* had by this rallied his Troops again, and bringing them on a fresh, passed also the Ditch, and charging the *Swedes* Left Wing of Horse, routed and pursued them to the Walls of the Town. The Prince having lost all his Foot, and weakened by the flight of his Left Wing, seeing no hopes of recovering the Day, retired also in reasonable good order into the City, however pursued by the Victorious Enemy. The Field being cleared, and plundered, and the night growing on apace, the *Danish* Generals encamped as near the Town as was possible. The next morning, they put their Armies into Battle in sight of the Enemy, and having planted their Cannon, threatened a sudden and general Assault, unless they surrendered. The *Swedes* seeing the Enemies preparations, sent out Commissioners to treat with them, and a Trumpeter to *De Ruyter*, who continually thundred upon them with volleys of Cannon, to desire him to desist, for they would deliver up the Town upon reasonable terms. But all mention of Conditions being rejected by the insulting Victors, they were forced to Deliver up themselves and the Place at discretion. Lieutenant General *Horn* marched out with three thousand Horse, which as also the Prisoners and Colours which had been taken in the Fight, he presented to the Confederate General Generals, who divided and distributed them amongst their several Regiments: the Officers, the Town, the spoil and all, fell into the Conquerours hands, together with fourscore Cornets, and eight and twenty Foot-Colours. Amongst the prisoners of note, were *Horn* himself, and the two Major Generals *Weyer* and *Waldes*. The Duke of *Weymer*, and the Count *Koningsmark* had been taken in the Battle the day before; there were also ten Colonels besides the inferiour Officers, and some other persons of quality. The slain on the *Swedes* side amounted to well nigh two thousand, besides Major General *Beteker*, and some other lesser Officers. The *Danes* lost only their Colonel *Booth*, one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, and three Captains of Horse. *Piazenzewski* the Commander in Chief of the *Poles*, died in this Field of Honour, as also Captain *Hemmema* a Gentleman of *Friezland*, the only Officer amongst the *Netherlanders*. The number of the slain soldiers did not exceed five hundred in all, neither did this so signal
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a Victory and the fruits of it, the Island of *Funen*, cost the *Danes* any more; which seemed in some sort, to recompense the manifold losses they had hitherto sustained. The two *Swedish* Generals the Prince of *Sulzbach* and Marshal *Steynbock* escaped the danger, for being retired into the Town, and in an impossibility of either defending the place or being relieved, and seeing they had but that one night of reprieve, they thought it more reasonable to hazard an escape, than submit to a certain surrender. They therefore exposed themselves in a small Boat to the mercy of the Sea, and escaped by favour of the darkness, and nimbleness of their Rowers, through all the Enemies Fleet, and came early the next morning to *Corseur*, where they in person, the only remains of so great a Defeat, were the Messengers of the Kings loss, and their own misfortunes.

The *Danes* heightened with this success, would by all means transfer the War into *Zeland*, terrified as they supposed, with the late loss. But *De Ruyter* pretending the hasty approach of Winter, the danger of the Ice if it should freeze, and the want of Provisions in his Fleet, refused to help them over, and however they demonstrated to him that it was but a business of a few hours, yet he would not be persuaded to assist them any further; the States peradventure thinking they had done enough, if they could oblige the *Swedes* to a Peace, not ruine them: for they could not chuse but remember the *Danes* former exacting upon them in the *Sound*, and the dangerous growth of the House of *Austria* in *Germany*. The Confederate Army was therefore dispersed into Winter quarters. *Ebersteyn* returned with his Troops into *Holstein*: *Schack* and the *Dutch* Auxiliaries continued in *Funen*, and *De Ruyter* sailed to *Lubeck*, to re-victual his Fleet. The *Holland*, the *Norway*, and the Island Fleets, loaden with an immense quantity of all sorts of provisions, arrived at the same time in the *Belt*, and joyning with *De Ruyter*, sailed with him to *Copenhagen*, where he was received with joy by the Citizens, and with much favour by the King, who honoured him with a great Chain of Gold, and a Meddal beset with Diamonds, as a mark of the esteem his Majesty had for the service he had rendered him.

Dec.
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The Mediatours having had notice of what had passed in *Funen*, went to *Elzineur*, fancying that the *Swedes* would after so great a blow be more inclinable to Peace, but they were deceived; for the King, lest he might be thought to yield with his misfortune, seemed no less constant now than he had been before; and yet they gained so much, that an Act of Redintegration of September twenty nine, was passed, whereby all hostilities, unkindnesses, and controversies should be removed; and the old, sincere, faithful and perpetual friendship, be renewed and restored betwixt the King and States. The Treaty of *Elbing* and its elucidations were also agreed upon; but with this restriction, that the said Treaty should not be binding and of force, before the Peace betwixt the *Northern Crowns* were

were concluded. But before we go further, it will not be from the purpose, to give the curious Reader, a short account of this *Treaty of Elbing*, being we shall have occasion to mention it so often hereafter, and that it will be so much insisted upon in the following Narrative.

The States General intereſſing themselves in the Wars of *Poland*, and apprehending the *Swedes* conquests in that Kingdom, had sent their Embassadors into *Prussia*, to secure their own traffick, and mediate, if possible, a peace betwixt them and the *Pole*. Their reception there was not ill, though their entertainment by the way had been but course, for they had been detained some dayes at *Lowenburg* against their wils, though under pretexts of honour; their complaints being only paid with excuses, and a pretended mistake of the Commander, though he had shown the Chancellor *Oxenſtern's* order for what he did. These Embassadors were followed by a great Fleet, under the Command of Admiral *Opdam*, who in order to the League quaranty with *Denmark*, for defence of the Commerce of the *Baltick* Sea, and particularly for the City of *Dantzick*, came and Anchored before the said Town. This way of Negotiation produced the *Treaty of Elbing*, which renewed them of the years 1640, and 1645. confirmed the liberty of traffick without augmenting the impositions, and included the City of *Dantzick* with a reserve of their fidelity to their own Prince. But *Dantzick* waved this inclusion, under pretence of Loyalty to the King and Commonwealth of *Poland*, but more truly, because they not only feared an incorporation with *Sweden*, but also desired no Superiour stronger at Sea than themselves, which would infallibly follow, if *Prussia* continued in the *Swedes* power: For these and other reasons, discovered in the context of this Relation, the whole *Treaty* continued hitherto unratified. But to return from whence we digressed, the said *Treaty* being now agreed upon, many prisoners on both sides, were as a testimony of their renewed Amity, set at liberty, and the *Dutch* Embassadors are now received as Mediators, without any scruple or exception. For all this, they could not bring the business to an absolute Accommodation, Winter was near, and there was no appearance that the *Swedes* would change quarters in so rude a season, and therefore the King having left the Command of his Forces and the Isles, to the Prince of *Salsbach*, and bid adieu to the Mediators, after he had feasted them, he passed over into *Schonen*, and went thence in hast to *Gottenburg* to be present at the Assembly of the States of *Sweden*, which he had commanded to meet him there.

The Mediators seeing the King gone, and perceiving that nothing would be done in his absence, returned all to *Copenhagen*, where the time for the most part was spent in jollity and feasting. Neither had the Citizens any great cause to complain, being abundantly furnished from *Holland*, *Island*, *Norway*, *Futland*, *Holfteyn*, *Lubeck*, and other places of the *Baltick* Sea, with all manner of

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provisions. The Souldiers, especially the *Dutch*, both Sea and Land Militia, were furnished with stockings, shoes, shirts, and coats, against the present cold, so that the City had rather the appearance of a place that triumphed over their Enemies, than of a besieged Fortrefs. The *Dutch*, as also the *Danish* Ships, were all within the Haven in surety, being frozen up, in so much that the Marriners who still lodged on Board, were forced every day to break the Ice round about them, which secured them as well against the surprises, as other designs of the Enemy. All the Marshes and Waters about the City were frozen, so that the whole Campania was become passable and open, which induced many of the Besiegers to refuge themselves in the Town, pretending the unsufferableness of the cold, and the hard duty they were put to: King *Frederick* had also caused Billers to be thrown about the Camp, inviting all such as would come to his service, with promise of present reward, and good quarters. He likewise ordered ten *Ryx-dollers* to be given to every fugitive Trooper in hand, provided he came with his Horse and Arms; and five to every Footman that came accoutred; and certainly, if his moneys had held out, the number of these Run-aways, which were near an hundred, would have amounted to a far greater. Most of these fellows were *German*s, which obliged the *Swedish* Generals, to remove all the *German* Regiments and Troops further from the Town, and put *Swedes* and *Fins* in their places, as men of better principles and fidelity.

The Summer and Fall were past, without any remarkable action betwixt the City and Camp, both parties seeing no appearance of doing good upon each other; being content to keep within their holds. But the Winter being advanced, and the Ice having rendered the ways and fields passable, they skirmished, attacked, and made sallies upon each other, with various success and fortune. In *November*, the *Danish* Horse fell upon a Guard of the *Swedes*, betwixt the Town and their Camp, which they surprised, killing and taking above sixty of them. The Month following, thirty stout fellows of the Garrison slipt out in a Boat, and by favour of the night, landed near the Paper mills, a *Dutch* mile from the City: they hid themselves in a Wood all the following day, but the darkness being come, they went to *Fredericksburg*, a pleasant and sumptuous House of the Kings, and breaking open the Stables, took away eight and twenty good horses, belonging to the King of *Sweden*, and mounting them, got safe with them, for all the Enemies pursuit, to *Copenhagen*: the lucky temerity of a Lieutenant, being one of the afore-mentioned Fugitives, was no less remarkable, who stealing out of the Town by night, passed all the Enemies stations undiscovered, and coming to *Roschild*, surprised the Guards there, and brought some twenty Horse with him back into the Town, these small successes did much heighten the besieged, who as it is usual in such encounters, began to contemn the Enemy, and hope

hope for greater advantages, which they attempted, though not with the like facility, as we shall see hereafter.

During these doings in *Denmark*, it will not be from the purpose to observe what happened elsewhere in order to them. King *Charles* was not ignorant how many difficulties, and what great obstacles the *Netherlanders* had opposed to his proceedings, how violently they had acted against him, and what further resistance he might expect from them, unless they were diverted. He had therefore dispatched Monsieur *Coyet* his Embassadour extraordinary to the States General some moneths since, to endeavour to remove those jealousies, which obliged this wary Nation, to interest themselves in the transactions of their Neighbours. Whilest *Coyet* was hastening for *Holland* in a *Zeland* States man of War, he had like to have been shipwrackt upon the dangerous shores of *Anbont*, for his Vessel being thrown upon a ridge of Sand by the violence of the tempest, stuck there immoveable, save its fearful rocking by the reciprocation of those Waves, which threatned its ruine every moment. *Coyet* saved himself in a Merchant ship which accidentally passed that way, and many of the Seamen having tied a number of empty Casks together with ropes, changed one danger for another. But the Captain being resolved to perish with his ship, did yet what he could to save both: He threw all his heaviest Cannon and luggage over-board, and so lightened his Vessel, that the Wind turning Northwards, it was lift up with the Waters, and so got off its unhappy station, and returned contrary to the expectation of all men, back to *Elzineur*. And certainly, so brave a man as this Captain, whose name is *Adrian Bankert*, a *Zealander*, deserves to be mentioned in our Relation, especially, having signalized himself once before by saving his Ship. It happened, that having the out-watch before the Haven of *Copenhagen*, his Cables being cut in peeces by the Ice, he was carried away with the stream and shoales, as far as the little Island of *Ween*, and so near the shore that he stuck fast in the Sands. The *Swedes* eager of the prey, which they thought assured, sent two men of War and several armed Boats to seize upon him, but finding more resistance than they had imagined, they raised a Battery on Land, and so attacked him on all sides at once, but *Bankert* defended himself so well, that he sunk the Enemies fire-ship, battered their Battery on shore, and treated the rest so rudely, that they were forced to retire, and suffer him to get off, which he did in safety. *Coyet* notwithstanding his former danger, went aboard the same Ship again, which being repaired, he set sail and arrived in *Holland* in November following. The *Danish* and *Brandenburgish* Ministers, did all they could to hinder his Reception and Audience, not forgetting to put the States in mind of the injuries and affronts, which the King of *Sweden* had so lately done to their Embassadours, in *Denmark*. But all they could do, could not unmask the States so far, as to oblige them to declare open War against *Sweden*, though they otherwise incommoded it

Nov.
25

by all the means they could imagine: a publick rupture had not been advisable, being the *English* Fleet there, and the *English* and *French* nearer home were reasonably to be apprehended, besides they thought it below their accustomed prudence, only to crack the Shell whilst their Allies went away with the Kernel; all the Conquests they could hope for in those parts, being but a liberty of Commerce, which they were surer of, in the dismembring of the *Sound*, than in a plenary restauration of *Denmark* to its pristine greatness, which had formerly so much perplexed and troubled their Navigation. Besides all this, there was anotheer weighty reason why *Coyet* should be admitted, which was, to render their Neutrality faster, and their interposing less suspect: being therefore received with the usual Ceremonies, and admitted to Audience, he laid before them the ancient Leagues and Confederations betwixt the two Nations, and how religiously they had been observed on the *Swedes* part, which the present King *Charles Gustave* had not only sacredly kept hitherto, but had also obliged himself by the late Treaty at *Esbing*, which contained most advantagious conditions for the *Dutch*, to do so for the future. He could not therefore but wonder to see, that the same was not ratified by them; which the credit of some men, who preferred their own passion and lucre before the good of their Countrey, and hitherto hindered; and how ever he had consented to an enlarging and explaining of the said Treaty, to their own desire, yet it took no effect; for the States had for all these amicable Concessions, sent their Fleet to *Danwick* to thwart his Designes in *Poland*, and instead of assisting of him against the invading *Danes*, with those supplies which they were obliged to by their Leagues with him and his Predecessours, they did not scruple to favour the King of *Denmark* in his unjust endeavours against him. Nay, they had so far contemned and rejected his friendship, who had suffered near a hundred of their Merchant-men, which he had in his power in the *Sound*, to pass untouched or molested; that they had after the manner of professed Enemies, sent a Fleet of War to assault and oppress him. He did therefore seriously complain of this ill-treating and violation of friendship, especially being he had omitted nothing on his part, for the conservation of a good understanding betwixt them, and that they on the contrary, had flown into open acts of violence and hostility, without so much as trying the wayes of Peace. For all this, the King had sent him to declare his most secret intentions to them; to explain those things which their Deputies in *Denmark* had scarce order to mention, to endeavour to remove what ever there was of any moment, that might cherish those heats and jealousies which were betwixt them, and to renew those Leagues of Amity, which they had formerly so much esteemed, and which the King, would if they pleased alwayes keep inviolably. He further propounded, that Commissioners might be ordered to treat with him, which was granted, although they moved not so quick as he desired, the main business being

being referred by the States to their Plenipotentiaries then in Denmark.

The King of Denmark, hearing of *Coyet's* being in Holland, resolved, least his affairs there might suffer, to oppose him in kind. He therefore sent the Lords, *Otto Krage*, and *Gotske Bockwalt*, two Senators, his Embassadors extraordinary to the Hague, who were received with more appearance and realities of kindness than the Swede. Amongst other things, they told the States that the time designed to make the Peace in, was expired, and consequently that that the *Hagues* Agreement and Conventions did cease of course. They therefore besought them to continue their assistance, according to the reiterate Leagues betwixt them, and that until Denmark were delivered from the oppression of their Enemies. They further demanded, that they might not at all be tied to the Treaty of *Roschild*, which the Swedes had broken, but that the said Swedes might be obliged, not only to render what they had usurped, but also to restore *Schonan* a dangerous neighbour to *Copenhagen*, in compensation of the manifold losses which they had suffered by their violence. Lastly, they desired a Peace, but would have it general, as securest both for their Commerce and their Allies. Some time after, they required that the Dutch Militia in Denmark, might be made up six thousand effective men, that the States would furnish them with 24 thousand Crowns every moneth, and lend them thirty Ships of War as soon as the Ice was broken, to be at the Kings command. In lieu of all this, they offered the States *Dronibeym* in Norway, *Malmuyen* or *Lanskrown* in *Schonen*, when they were taken, or *Gluckstat* in *Holsheyn*, as pledges and security for their moneys. But the English opposed these Propositions of the Danes, not willing to suffer that either the *Elbe*, the *Sound*, or the Northern Navigation, should run the hazard of more interruptions: so that this was no further insisted upon, especially, being the English Resident had desired in Writing from the States, that they would not accept of any Cities, Havens, Forts, or other places whatsoever, before his Superiours had been first acquainted with it. The States answer to the Danes (except in this particular) was very favourable, for having sent a great quantity of all manner of Provisions to *Copenhagen*, they further declared, that they would not be wanting in assisting their Confederates. It will not be impertinent, to add a Catalogue of the Provisions which were to compose a Magazin for the Citizens at *Copenhagen*, and to be sold to them at reasonable Rates, the particulars and prizes were;

500000 Weight of Cheese, cost; 29160 Livres or Guilders.

300 Tun of Herrings, at 40500 Guild.

400000 Weight of Stockfish, at 28000 Guild.

120 Tun of Gront, 24840 Guild.

120 Tun of Pease, at 29160 Guild.

135 Tun of Salt, at 14610 Guild.

800 Firkins of Butter, 59200 Guild.
 400 Hogsheds of Brandy, 34080 Guild.
 500 Hogsheds of Vinegar, 10075 Guild.
 400000 Pound of Bacon, at 72000 Guild.
 100 Ship pouna of Hops, 4300 Guild.
 200 Tun of Malt, at 23240 Guild.
 200 Quarts of Train-Oyl, 6300 Guild.
 4000 Pound of Horse-Radish, 340 Guild.
 200 Ames of Rape Oyl, 7800 Guild.
 300 Tun of Beef salted, 16600 Guild.
 10000 Pounds of Candles, 3000 Guild.
 20000 Pound of Tobacco, 4000 Guild.
 200 Inn of Oats, at 14000 Guild.

The whole Sum is, 474045 Guild.

In English moneys, 47404l. 10s. 00d.

The States also answered *Coyets* expostulatory speech, accusing the *Swedes* as the causers of the breach of those Leagues, and that friendship they so much complained of. First, they put him in mind how *Queen Christina*, had not only refused them those Succours during the *English War*, which the Crown of *Sweden* was obliged to send them, but had also hindred the transport of the Cannon, which they had then bought in *Sweden* for their use, and imprisoned some of their Merchants, upon unjust and frivolous pretences. They further declared, that their usage had not been better since the coming of *Charles Gustave* the present King to the Crown, for that when a Catalogue of those Princes and States which were esteemed Friends and Confederates to the Kingdom of *Sweden*, had been openly read in the Assembly of States, they were omitted, and wholly left out; nay, that this King had, as *Christina* had done before, when he was pressed to renew the ancient Alliances betwixt the two States, declared (under pretext of their League with *Denmark*) that he was not at all obliged to observe them. They also complained, how the Kings Fleet had exacted extraordinary Imposts, from their Subjects in the *Baltick Sea*, and how their Embassadors had been detained at *Lewenburg* against their wills. As for the Treaty of *Elbing*, they acknowledged they had demanded a necessary Elucidation, not Evasion of some of its Articles, the which not being concluded, and the *Swedes* having declared the former Treaties betwixt them not to be obligatory, it seemed but reasonable in them to look to their own affairs, and to send a Fleet and Souldiers to *Dansick*, as well to secure their Trade, as to insure a City which was their Friend and Confederate. They added, that they were not ignorant with how much industry both *Queen Christina* and *King Charles*, had not only endeavoured to ruine the good intelligence which was betwixt *King Frederick* and their State, but had also laboured by the accession and assistance of *Denmark* to exclude them out of the *Baltick Sea*. But being they could

could not compass it, it was no wonder if the States General did assist a Prince who was their Confederate and Friend. And yet they professed, that when the Peace betwixt the two Northern Crowns was once made, they would omit nothing which might conduce to renew and re-establish the ancient Alliances and friendships, betwixt the Crown of Sweden, and their *United Provinces*.

During these transactions, the *Imperialists* and *Brandenburgers* made havock of all in *Pomerania* uncontrouled, under pretext of diverting the *Swedes* in their proceedings in *Denmark*. The War in *Norway* was also carried on with much eagerness, but with more variety of success; but being these Contests happened out of *Denmark*, however relating to the subject in hand, though at a distance, I thought good to omit them, as well to avoid prolixity, as to ease my self, especially, being the knowledge I had of them was but at second hand. I must not however omit to say somewhat of the death of King *Charles*, he having been the only Author of the Siege we mention, although prevented by his untimely end, from finishing that which he had so vigorously undertaken.

The Convention at *Gottenburg* being ended, the King who had lain some time sick of a malignant Fever, seemed to have overcome the violence of his Disease; but falling into a relapse, and perceiving that he must submit to that necessity, which imposes upon Kings as well as meaner persons; he caused his Queen, his Friends, and the Chief Officers of his Crown, to be called to him. He comforted such as he perceived to mourn his misfortune with most tenderness, and having spoken to many of them in particular, spent the approaching night in struggling against the rage and impatience of his malady. He passed the following day (as if he had made a truce with death) in ordering his affairs, and now all things being finished, he received the blessed Sacrament with much devotion, and seemingly satisfied with the unavoidableness of his fate, commanded his chief Physician, to give him timely notice, some hours before he must expire. A while after, being warned as he had desired, he rose up, and being placed in a Chair at the Table, he caused his Will to be produced and read, in the presence of the Senators of his Kingdom. Amongst other Legacies, he had left the Crown to his Son, and appointed his Queen, Regent and Tutress during his minority. His Testament being read, he demanded if there were any amongst them, who had any thing to say against it, but no body answering, he signed it, as also very many other Instruments, Orders, Letters, and the like. When there remained nothing more to be done, as if tired with labour, he demanded rest; but being shown his Bed by his Attendants, he replied, that he should dye as soon as he entred into it; but added, this also must be hazarded, manifesting no less courage in his last moment, than he had done in the whole course of his life. Being therefore laid, he recommended his soul to him that gave it, and with a gentle sigh, expired betwixt the arms of Count *Brake* and *Bidal*, then next him.

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And thus ended *Charles Gustave* King of *Sweden*, a Prince for Council, for Industry and for Eloquence; not absurdly compared to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and for greatness of mind to his son *Alexander*. He had done many brave actions, being yet but a private man, but being come to the Crown, he invaded *Poland*, and having expelled the King, forced all the Orders of that Kingdom to swear fealty to him. Being returned, he repressed the *Danes*, who had made War upon him in his absence; and had if he had not been hindered, as we have already related, oppressed them altogether. I am not ignorant, how that not only this brave Princes Enemies, but many of his friends, did attribute the cause of his distemper, and end, to a melancholly which he had contracted for the loss of his Army in *Funen*. I will not say, but this blow was very sensible, as being the only material disgrace which he had yet suffered from fortune; but that he should sink under it, was below so vast a mind: Neither did he ever say or do any thing since, that might betray him to so great a weakness. His reception of the *Palsgrave* and *Steynbock* immediately after their defeat, had nothing of harsh in it; and his treating of them afterwards, shewed him rather a just recompenser, than a despiser of unfortunate virtue: for he continued the one in his Government of *Schonen*, and intrusted the other with the Command of his Armies, and the Isles in *Denmark* in his absence. I can say somewhat upon my own knowledge; Upon the Kings return to *Cronenburg* after the Battle, I had the honour to be in the presence, and being called, his Majesty asked me what newes there was at *Copenhagen*, and if their joy there for their late Victory was not very great? I answered, that they were indeed much heightened with it. His Majesty thereupon was pleased to tell me the whole manner of the Battle, and what Regiments, and what particular persons did well: concluding, that no body was a Master of Fortune, and that nothing was more casual than War: but the blow was not great, and not meanly repaired, in the satisfaction he had, that his men had fought well.

King *Charles* being thus dead in the flower of his age, for he was but thirty seven years and three months old, was much lamented by all sorts of men. The Souldiers bewailed him not as their General, but as their common Parent. Only the *Swedes* hating his severity, and the continual dangers he engaged them in, seemed to grieve least. Besides, the great ones of the Kingdom did not obscurely foresee, that the administration of the publick affairs, during the Kings minority, and the Regents Government, would of course fall into their hands; which did likewise happen: For the Senators and Chief Officers having no body to oppose or awe them, acted now with more liberty and security. And truly, their Councils were more moderate, for they did now dare to profess, that they desired that Peace which their magnanimous Prince had so often rejected. Letters were therefore writ by the Queen, in her Sons name,

name, and subscribed by all the Senators then present, to the Mediators, which witnessed the same: For the young King having in them bemoaned the untimely death of his Father, did not obscurely intimate his desires for Peace. Upon receipt of these Letters, The French Embassadour, Sir Robert Honywood, and Monsieur *Slingland*, went to *Elzincur*, where they found the *Swedes* not only inclinable to Peace, but brought the so often required Declaration for it, with them, back to *Coppenhagen*. The sum of the said Declaration was, that the King of *Sweden* would embrace Peace, and that upon the Basis of the *Rotschild Treaty*, so that besides the restoring of *Drontheim* as his deceased Father had designed, in favour of the Mediatours, out of a desire to hasten the Peace: and besides the Conventions formerly agreed upon with the said Mediatours, it should be of full force in all its Articles; excepting where the exigency of the present posture of affairs, did necessarily require some alteration, and such changes as should be agreed upon by both Kings Commissioners, by mediation, and interposing of the three States. The above mentioned Conventions with both Kings, were, that the King of *Sweden* should not exact for the future, any Toll or Imposition, from any armed or Merchant Ships, either in the *Sound* or *Baltick Sea*. Nor the King of *Denmark* (who was to content himself with the old and usual Taxes) impose any new, upon any Vessel whatsoever, belonging to the Subjects of the 3 aforesaid States. The Declaration did further intimate, that the King satisfied with the justice and integrity of the Mediators, did refer all to their industry and endeavours; and that he would restore to the King of *Denmark*, such places as should appertain to him by force of the Treaty, after the Peace was concluded and ratified, at that very time which should be prefixed by the Mediators for their evacuation. As for the King of *Poland* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, he did profess, that he did willingly consent that both of them, if they pleased, might be included in the Treaty, and that he was ready to compose all differences and controversies which were risen betwixt himself, and either or both of them. The Mediators having received this Declaration, address themselves to the King of *Denmark*, tell him how far they had proceeded with the other party, and desired he would be pleased likewise to declare his intention, in order to the hoped Accommodation. But the King abhorring the thoughts of the *Rotschild Treaty*, delayed his answer, which obliged the Mediators to deliver him a Paper, wherein they pressed him to vouchsafe an Answer to their Proposals, and that without any delay, as he had promised by his Declaration of the fifth of *March* new stile; urging further, that the least demur would be extremely prejudicial to his affairs and interests. But the King continued in his resolved silence, which obliged the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, forced to it by the incessant importunities of the *English* and *French* Ministers, to withdraw their Naval Auxiliaries from his service, which they were the more inclined to do, being it

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March appeared by the Lord *Sieno Bielke's* Letters (for he believed that the Treaty of *Elbing*, as he had understood from the *English* Plenipotentiaries, was to begin and be of force from that day) to Marshal *Wrangle*, that the *Swedes* had inhibited all further hostility against the *Dutch*, and permitted an entire liberty to their shipping to sail whither they pleased.

Nov. 1. The *Dutch* Fleets had Wintered in *Copenhagen*, being detained there by the rigour of the cold, but the warmer *Spring* having dissolved those congealed Waves which had shackled them thus long, fifteen of the greatest men of War, because unweeldiest, and consequently unfittest for those Narrow Seas, were sent home with *Egbert Mewse*, who in consideration of his own deserts, and *Opdam's* recommendation, succeeded *De Witte* in the Vice-Admiralship. The rest of the Navy, excepting only three men of War (sent with Corn and other Provisions, under the Command of Captain *Barkel* into *Funen*, for relief of the *Netherland* Troop inquartered there, was ordered to shut up the Haven of *Landskronn*, which was scarcely yet effected, when the *Dutch* Commissioners, who had also the Supream Military as well as Civil power, sent their Admiral new Orders, by an Express, to abstain from further hostility against the *Swedes*, to withdraw his Fleet from before the Haven of *Landskronn*, and to suffer the *Swedish* ships to pass and repass at pleasure. *De Ruyter* being upon the point to depart, was retarded by King *Fredericks* sudden and unexpected arrival in the Fleets. His Majesty hastened thither with some Fire-ships, before the *Dutch* should quit their station, full of hopes to ruine the *Swedish* Fleet; and had obtained so much from the Admiral, that however pressed by his Orders to be gone, he did not dare to leave him there alone. The *Dutch* Embassadors being acquainted by *De Ruyter's* Letters of the Kings resolution and design, and that the *Swedes* made preparation to go to Sea, were at a stand. It seemed dishonourable and unbecoming their friendship, to abandon the resolved King, who protested he would not stir thence, till he had put his design in execution, and to countermand their Orders, seemed to question the sincerity of their intentions and promises. In this streight, they bethought themselves that the *Swedes* had not as yet given any real assurance that they would not disturb the *Dutch* Navigation and traffick; they therefore sent new commands to *De Ruyter*, not to stir till further Orders, and in the mean time resolve to expect the return of one of their Gentlemen, which they had sent the day before to *Helsingneur* to the *Swedes* Commissioners, with their instrument of Cessation, who was to bring another with him from them of the same force and tenour. The day following, they wrote again to the aforesaid Commissioners, assuring them, That they would immediately recall their Fleet upon the receipt of their Instrument of Pacification, and give commands for the future, that no manner of hostility should be used against any of their shipping whatsoever. And they proved as good as their words, for the Messenger being retur-

returned the same Evening with the desired Instrument, and the King being come back to *Copenhagen* without attempting what he had so confidently undertaken, for his Fire-works did not take, they forthwith sent *De Ruyter* Orders to come away with the Fleet, the which notwithstanding he could not perform, by reason of contrary Winds and the adverse stream, until the second day following. The sense and tenour of the two Instruments was in effect the same; to wit, a reciprocal promise and engagement, that no force or injury should be committed on either side, against the Ships of War, or Burthen of the other, for the future; and in case any should happen before notice could be given to their several Commanders, that all such losses should be immediately and fully satisfied and repaired. The *Swedes* Commissioners, had together with the said Instrument, sent the *Dutch* Embassadors other Letters, wherein having magnified their candor, sincerity and desires for Peace, they required that the Treaty of *Elbing* might be ratified with all speed, and that in the mean time it might begin, and be of force, to all intents as if it were already ratified and confirmed. But this being waved for the present, the *Dutch* thought it enough to keep to their Cessation, and therefore as they had ordered their Navies not to act, so they sent an Express to Sir *William Killegrew*, their Collonel General in *Funen*, with Instructions to keep his Souldiers within the Island, and to attempt nothing against the *Swedes*, unless first provoked by them.

The *English* Commissioners in the interim, looking upon the *Dutch* delays but as delations, and troubled that the Fleet was not returned according to the first Orders, wrote a sharp Letter to their Embassadors, wherein having minded them with what incessant endeavours they had sought for Peace, and how averse the King of *Denmark* was from it, who had not vouchsafed an Answer to their equitable and pressing desires. They besought them, that as they had formerly made War by Sea and Land upon the King of *Sweden*, when he refused Peace, they would now, not unmindful of the rules of justice; and their re-iterated Engagements, withdraw all their Succours from the King of *Denmark*, who did at present, and had for some Moneths absolutely refused the wayes of Accommodation; being therefore that the *Swedes* had abundantly witnessed their propensness for Peace, as appeared by their Declaration of the twenty ninth of *February*, and that it was evident that the King of *Denmark*, however pressed by the Mediators, had no such thoughts, but only to gain time by his shiftings and delays, which was so prejudicial to the Common-wealth: They required that they would endeavor to force *Denmark* now, as they had done *Sweden* formerly, to accept of Peace, and that they would abstain from all manner of injurious actions, and hostility against the *Swedes*, now openly professing their desires for rest and quietness. They added in case they would not, that they should be obliged to declare in the Name of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, that the *Dutch*

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had violated the Covenants made betwixt the two Nations, and that it should be lawful for the said Parliament to demand reparation for all such breaches and unsufferable provocations. But the Fleet having quitted *Lanskröna*, as is mentioned, the Mediators laying aside these altercations for the present, repair to the King again, and joyntly entreat him, that he also would at length, as the *Swedes* had already done, be pleased to give in his Declaration for Peace; which he yet deferred, in expectation of the return of an Express which he had sent into *Holland*; hoping that the industry and endeavours of his Embassadour at the *Hague*, would incline the States General to procure him better conditions. In the mean time, he demanded of the *Dutch* Ministers, what return they did expect for their expences in the War? for it concerned him to know it in time, because those charges, how vast soever, were to be required from the *Swedes* as the Authors of it, before the Peace should be concluded. But these cross questions were but to gain time, whilst the *Danish* Embassadours pressed the States with their solicitations at the *Hague*. Amongst other things, they highly complained, that their Plenipotentiaries in *Denmark*, had upon the bare receipt of the *Swedish* Declaration, rashly and inconsiderately recalled their Fleet from before *Lanskröna*, and that without so much as consulting their King, which was of so mischievous a consequence to him, that the *Swedes* by this means let loose, had already intercepted many Vessels belonging to his Subjects, and did daily rove at the Gates of *Copenhagen*, and that in sight of the States Fleet without controul. They further desired them to call to mind, the Leagues betwixt both Nations, and those engagements they had made to prosecute the War, until *Denmark* were restored to its pristine tranquility and condition: They therefore besought them, that they would desist from that fatal Cessation, which had lost them their Islands last year, and now the occasion of ruining the *Swedish* Fleet in the Haven of *Lanskröna*, with those fire-ships they had prepared for that design, and command *De Ruyter* to act vigorously against their Enemies, until they did declare that they would embrace an equitable peace, wherein the *Danes* might find security for the future, and compensation for their past and present sufferings. Neither did these complaints of the Embassadours prove wholly fruitless, being the *Swedish* Declaration, which made no specific mention of the *Hague* Conventions, was not judged ample enough, but more especially, because of the diffidence there was that the effects of it should not so suddenly follow, as was desired.

The States therefore profess by their Letters to their Ministers in *Denmark*, the dislike of the removal of their Fleet from *Lanskröna*, and the licentious ravaging of the *Swedes* at Sea: adding, that if the Peace were not yet made, and that it should appear that the *Swedes* were the cause of this delay, that they should then not only hinder their Naval excursions, but employ all their Sea and Land Forces,

Forces, to compel them to it with all imaginable speed and vigour. And this indeed was the Embassadors design, before they granted the *Swedes* the above mentioned Cessation, to the which they were not only inclined, by the *Swedes* aforesaid Declaration, but chiefly because the King of *Denmark* did then against all expectation manifestly refuse Peace.

But to return to *Copenhagen*, the above-mentioned Messenger being arrived, the Mediators were sent for to Court, where instead of the Declaration they did expect, they were demanded by the Kings Order, what change the *Swedes* desired in the Treaty of *Roschild*? To which the *Dutch* answered, that the Mediators were not very solicitous of that, only desired to know, whether his Majesty would be pleased also to give his Declaration for Peace? Adding, that otherwise they should be necessitated to observe and put in execution the Commands of their Superiours. After many Contests to and fro, the King lest he might seem altogether averse from Peace, did at last promise, that he would the following day, deliver the so much desired Declaration, and that in the same form that the *Swedes* had given theirs, which he also did. During these disputes, the *Swedish* Commissioners had by the instigation of the *French* Embassadors, pressed the *Dutch* to a conjunction of Arms with them, by vertue of the Treaty of *Elbing*, the which ought as they pretended, to begin and be of force from that time they had exhibited their Declaration for Peace: but they were answered, that that could not be under that pretext, but rather by vertue of the Treaty made betwixt the three States, which also was now needless to urge, being affairs were in so hopeful a way of being accommodated without coming to those extremities. The *Dutch* Embassadors did moreover complain, that *Coyet* the *Swedish* Legat at the *Hague*, had endeavoured to bring the said Treaty of *Elbing*, to the test again, and subject its illustrations, the product of so much sweat and time, to new and impertinent disquisitions. But the Kings Declaration silenced these unreasonable disputes, and now both their Commissioners by the intervention of all the Mediators met in the Tents again; and seemed to re-assume their Treaty with better hopes of success than before.

The *Dutch* Fleet being retired from *Lanskrown*, they were followed by eight *Swedish* Men of War, who having saluted the Admiral, cast Anchor near him, and began to shut up the Haven of *Copenhagen* once more. Hence many Merchants Ships of burthen, being ignorant of what had happened were intercepted, and that Naval Commerce which the besieged had hitherto freely enjoyed was interrupted. But this mischief was timely remedied, for the *Dutch* Embassadors upon notice hereof, commanded *De Ruyter* not to suffer any hostility whatsoever within sight of his Fleet, which he was so careful to perform, that when the *Swedes* had sent three Men of War to lye at *Draker*, he also did send as many to wait upon them there. The *Swedes* seeing themselves thus observed, pretending

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ing want of provision (and indeed the Treaty advanced but untowardly) hoisted sail again, and returning to *Lanskröna*, came to Anchor at the entry of their Haven, ready there upon all occasions. The three Ships which were at *Draker*, making towards the East Sea, fell upon a Galliot coming from *Holsteyn*, which they took, and in it Field-Marshal *Schack*, and *John Alefeld* Lieutenant General of the Horse, both going to *Copenhagen*, being sent for by the Kings orders. They were carried Prisoners to *Malmøyen*, and being delivered to Marshal *Steinbock* Governour of *Schonen*, were kept in safe custody by his command. Sir *Walter Vane* came with them from *Funen*, but was immediately set at liberty without ransom (the *Swedes* supposing the Peace betwixt themselves and the States already concluded) and permitted to continue his journey to *Copenhagen*, the Messenger of this unhappy accident.

In the mean time, there was no industry omitted to bring the Treaty to a happy issue, but being the meetings of the two Kings Commissioners, by reason of that distance, and those animosities which their fresh differences had bred, seemed fruitless, they were content upon the Mediators pressing desires, to give in their several Propositions and Demands by writing, permitting also in some sort, the management of their several Interests to their united Arbitration, at least wise to their industry and endeavours. The Mediators knowing now what they both required, laboured to compose an instrument which might be acceptable to the one and the other, moderating the desires of the one, to the content and satisfaction of the other. After much toil, and time, and conferences, and after many heats, and disputes, not only betwixt the Mediators and the Ministers of both parties, but also betwixt the Mediators amongst themselves, especially about the compensation of losses, and the remitting of the 400000 Crowns, which the *Swedes* demanded for their *Guiney* damages, the business seemed fairly advanced, and the Articles were well nigh all agreed to, when an unexpected stop was put to these proceedings, by the *English* and *French* Ministers, demanding a further explanation upon the *Elucidations* of the Treaty of *Elbing*. The difficulty, was about the extent of the defensive Article comprised in the same: for being that Treaty was to be of force, as soon as the Peace betwixt the two Kings should be concluded, the *English* judged it, as it was indeed reasonable, to clear that point first. Before this *remora* could be removed, behold another and no less surprising accident, which did not only disturb the whole Negotiation, but hurried the Mediators themselves, but too much dissenting before, into a manifest and open rupture. The States General, being as we have mentioned, not fully satisfied with the *Swedes* Declaration, and fancying that the uncontrouled liberty which they had to rove at Sea since *De Ruysters* withdrawing from *Lanskröna*, had rendered them less inclinable to quietness, had by redoubled Orders commanded their Ministers in *Denmark*, that in case the *Swedes* had not already accepted of Peace, according to their

May 3.

their Declaration they should (all delays laid aside) following the Conventions between the three States, compel them to it by main force. The wary *Swedes* had notice of these resolutions, neither did the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries deny their reality when they were interrogated concerning them by the *Swedish* Commissioners, who for all that looked upon them (being they seemed too violent) but as fictitious, and published on purpose the better to conceal the true design. But the *Dutch* seeing their secrets (by a mischief unavoidable in Commonwealths by reason of the multitudes of Masters) discovered, acknowledged openly and ingeniously that they were indeed the true and real intentions and resolves of the States, which they would positively follow, and execute against such who were averse from Peace. The *Swedes*, as also the other Mediators, seeing the *Dutch* thus determined, were at a stand, for being these only were armed, it was supposed they might dare any thing. This therefore being foreseen, the *English* and *French* club'd Councils apart, not a little sollicitous, least the *Dutch* forgetting the limits of Mediation, should render themselves Umpires and Arbitrators of the whole Negotiation. This jealousy was much lightened the next day, when as the *Dutch* having framed a new Design or Project for Peace, however conformable to the *Roschild* and *Hagues* Treaties, did not stick to deliver the same in writing to them. *Terloorn* did indeed accept of the Instrument, but the *English*, being it was made without the assent of all the Mediators, absolutely refused it, although they suffered it to lie upon their Table, being laid and left there by the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries themselves. The *English* and *French* being much perplexed at these proceedings, bethought how best to prevent their progress; two dayes after, *Terloorn* having largely professed his desires for an Accommodation, presented an Instrument in writing, which the *English* had framed, to be assented to and signed by all the Mediators. The sum of it was, *That nothing should be done or concluded, or be valid, or invalid, in the present Negotiation, that was not done by the unanimous Act and Consent of all the Mediators, and being the greatest difficulties was about the 400000 Rixdollars, it was subjoyned that that should be referred to the Arbitration of their respective superiours themselves.* The *Dutch* perceiving the drift of this Design, replied, *That all new Obligations would be superfluous, they being sufficiently bound by the Hagues Treaty, neither could they consent to their reference concerning the moneys, being the weight of that burthen would probably fall upon the Danish accompt.* The following dayes were for the most part spent in heats and eager disputes, and the differences and diffidences grew daily, yea hourly, more and more betwixt them, especially being the *English* did not cease to move new difficulties about the *Elbing* Treaty. But all these contests did not surpass the modesty of words, nor was there any hostility encreased betwixt these great Dissenters. The *Dutch* Fleet lay before the Haven of *Copenhagen*, and the *Swedes* had theirs secure in that of *Lanskr  n*. *De Ruyter* had

had indeed Orders to observe the *Swedes*, and to oppose them with all his might, in case they attempted any thing. And it was not long ere this vigilant Commander found an opportunity of acting, for the *Swedes*, notwithstanding the reiterated warnings given them, fancying nothing less than an interruption, and thinking themselves secure, by vertue of their exchanged instruments of Cessation, and Liberty with the *Dutch*, sailed out of *Lanskrown* with nine Men of War, one Merchant ship, and a small Ketch, and came to Anchor under the Island of *Ween*, where they lay two dayes. The *Dutch* Embassadours observing this, sent *Cornelius Everfon* Rear-Admiral of *Zealand*, with seven men of War to the *Sound*, to hinder their passage through that Streight, in case they attempted it. *De Ruyter* continued with ten Ships where he had hitherto lain (the rest of his Vessels being sent into the *Ballick Sea*) with a resolution to oppose them if they made that way. The *Swedes* being as they pretended bound for *Stockholm*, having got a good Wind hoisted sail, but being advanced as far as the Shallowes near *Souibholm*, their Admiral received a Letter from *De Ruyter* (which the Embassadours had for fear of mistakes dictated for him, as they also had done for *Everfon*, in case the *Swedes* had designed to pass the *Sound*) desiring him to Anchor where he was, for if he should endeavour to pass further, he was resolved to oppose him, least he might attempt any thing contrary to the tenor of the *Swedes* Declaration, or prejudicial to the present Treaty. The *Swede* amazed with these unaccustomed commands, and doubtful what to do, was at length forced to submit: for being unequal in strength, though equalia number of Ships, he obeyed *De Ruyters* second summons, which was a Cannon Bullet, and letting fall his sails, after mutual salutation came to Anchor. *Cornelius Everfon* who followed the *Swedes*, took his station betwixt them and *Lanskrown*, and the next day *De Ruyter* drawing nearer to them environed them round, to take from them all possibility of escaping in case they attempted it. The *Dutch* Embassadours were at the time of detaining the *Swedes* Ships, upon the top of the round Tower at *Coppenhagen*, and perceiving the motion of the Fleets, *De Huybert* and *Haren* went forthwith on board *de Ruyter*, to give such Orders as they should judge necessary; from whence they likewise sent the *Swedes* Admiral word, that what they had done was to further the Peace, and not out of design to prejudice him in the least, which he might be assured of. The *Swedes* Commissioners were extreemly vexed at the detension of their Ships, and complaining bitterly against *de Ruyter's* insolence, required that they might be suffered without delay, to continue their journey to *Stockholm*, whither they were designed. The *English* and *French* Embassadours fretted yet higher, and accusing the *Dutch* of breach of Faith, and violation of Covenants, demanded the instant relaxation of the Ships; threatning that in case they would not, that they would treat no further with them, but revenge with all their power, those indignities and injuries, which were offered to *England* and
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to *France*. The *Dutch* Embassadors replied, that what they had done was but to further the Peace, which if seriously and sincerely intended, would be easily compassed, and least any thing might intervene which might disturb and interrupt it; in the interim, they only endeavoured to oblige the *Swedes* to put their Declaration in execution. After this, they wrote Letters to the *English* and *French*, wherein they professed, That they did not vary from any of those Articles contained in their former Project; adding, that as for the Treaty of *Elbing*, there was the same provision both in it, and in its Illustrations, made for *France* and *England*, as for *Sweden* and the *United Provinces*, if they would but be included in it. They did therefore conjure them, that they would add their endeavours to theirs, according to the so often mentioned Conventions, and their instructions of their respective superiours, in the procuring of a sudden and settled Peace. The *English* and *French* perceiving the *Dutch* had made no mention in their Letters of the detained Ships, fancied they jeered them, and therefore repeated, by most bitter refections, what they had declared before by word of mouth, and sending expresses into *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, acquainted their several Masters, and their Masters Ministers, with what had hitherto happened in *Denmark*. The *Dutch* Embassadors seeing that the other Mediatours had resolved to treat no more with them, until they first released the Ships, did send their above said Project for Peace to the *Swedes* Commissioners, with Letters to the Camp demanding their answer. Another Instrument of the same tenour was delivered to the great Master of *Denmark*, and both parties invited to accept of those Forms. But the *Swedes* delaying their Answer, were again pressed though in vain; for they affirmed, they would not treat any further unless their Ships were first at liberty. Hereupon the *Dutch* resolved to fight the said detained Ships, and to make War upon the *Swedes*, now manifestly refusing Peace, which they also had done, if the Danes themselves fearing the continuation of their misery, and the perpetuity of these destroying contests had not dissuaded them from it. In the mean time, the *English* and *French* Embassadors had daily conferences with the *Swedes* in their Tents and Camp, and did mainly endeavour to make up a Peace betwixt the two Kings without the *Dutch*. But the Danes were not to be separated from their Deliverers; neither would the *Swedes* however irritated against the *Dutch*, conclude entirely without them. But so much was effected, that both Kingdoms were more desirous of Peace, and their Ministers now at more liberty and freedom, by reason of the dissensions of the imperious Mediatours, endeavoured the composing of it more than ever. And finding themselves well nigh at their own disposal, and unconstrained, they urged the business with more fervour than before, and advanced so far, that they agreed upon all the Articles of the Treaty, except only on the term to be designed for the withdrawing of the *Swedish* Troops, and Garrisons out of the Countrey. Here-

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upon the *Swedes* Commissioners composed an Instrument of Pacification, according to their Conventions with the *Danes*, and sent it into the City, which being examined, was not only found to quadrate with the *Hagues* Treaties, and the above mentioned *Projects* for Peace, but also to contain several more advantageous conditions for *Denmark*, than they did hope for. The chief controverted points were about the remission of the 400000 Crowns, the restitution of the Island of *Bornholm*, and the possessions of the Gentry and Nobilities goods in *Schonen*; all which were concluded as the *Danes* desired, for the aforesaid sum was absolutely remitted; the Goods and Lands were restored to their true owners; and the Island was left in the King of *Denmarks* possession for a whole year, with power to redeem it for its value, by exchange or otherwise, or restore it at the expiration of the said time. The *Treaty* being thus far advanced without the Mediators, the King lest they might seem neglected, sent for the four *Dutch* Deputies to Court, where the *Ryx-hoff-master* in presence of his Majesty and Senators, told them, that they had agreed with the *Swedes* to the content of both parties, except only the time of evacuation, or clearing the Country of the Souldiers. The Embassadours having congratulated his Majesty hereupon, congratulated also the *Swedes* Commissioners by Letters upon the happy progress of affairs, and invited them, notwithstanding the sinister interpretations of some men, meaning the *English* and *French*, to the sanction of the *Treaty* of *Elbing*, the which, together with its Illustrations, they desired might be forthwith ratified and confirmed. Some few dayes after, not only these Demands of the *Dutch* were assented to, but all other differences and desires accommodated, and concluded by consent of both Kings, and all the Mediators; so that the detained Ships were thereupon left to their liberty, and by *De Ruyter's* removal from them, permitted to sail whither they pleased, which did not happen without the congratulatory thunder of the Cannon on both sides.

During this *Treaty* for Peace, the thoughts of War were not so laid aside, but that several encounters and light skirmishes happened betwixt the City and Camp Militia. The besieged heightened with their former successes, thought of attempting somewhat more extraordinary, and therefore sallying out by night with all their Horse, *Mar. 4.* fell upon the Enemies Stations or Posts with the same confidence, though not with the same success, as they had formerly done; for the *Swedes* having notice of their designs, and ready, received and charged them so rudely, that they forced them to save themselves by flight within their Works, five of their men being taken prisoners, and several of them slain. The following Month they made another attempt, but with no better fortune, for they were repelled in the Kings presence, and lost threescore foot which they had taken with them to strengthen their Horse. The *Swedes* also had designed the surprizing of the City Cattle which fed under the Walls, to which *May 17.* purpose they hastened thither with all their Horse; but their intent being

being likewise known, the Cattle were secured, and the Enemy forced by the Cannon from the Ramparts to keep at a distance. They yet returned some dayes after with a thousand Horse, and threw *May 21* down a Breast-work not far from the ruined Suburbs on the West side of the Town, which annoyed them, the which was again raised by the *Copenhageners* two dayes after. The *Sweaes* were also busied in other parts of the Kingdom, for having gathered some small Vessels upon the Coasts of *Holsteyn*, they landed by *Nysted*, but being repelled thence, they resolved to try their fortune on the Isle of *Fameren*, though not with better success, for the Danes having retired their Troops into a strong double Ditched Fort which they had there, contained themselves in it, until they were re-inforced by fresh supplies out of *Holsteyn*, which obliged the Enemy to retire to their Ships again.

But *Denmark* was not alone the stage of War, neither was it here only that the treaties for Peace were in agitation. *Poland*, the seat of so many miseries, was at length delivered from the oppression of their infesting Enemies, by the Treaty of *Oliva*. This Treaty was chiefly managed by the *French*, their Embassadour being the only Mediator admitted in it. The Dutch had indeed sent an *Extraordinary Deputy* to the *Polish Court*, but he was received there without Ceremony, scarce civility, upon pretext they were not acquainted with his Character, it being a new thing with them. His Mediation was likewise waved, the *French* influence (the Queen being Ascendant) being too strong, and the jealousies which they began to entertain of the *Imperialists*, not a little formed. Neither was he more acceptable to the *Sweedes*, his visit to their Plenipotentiaries, being but repayed by a complement by their Secretary; upon pretence he was lodged in *Dansick* an Enemies Town; and his interposition wholly refused, being looked upon as a party, so that he was but an idle Spectator, as to the main in the said Treaty. But for all the States exclusion, the Emperour and the Electour of *Brandenburg* were not only included in the said Pacification, but the old Friendship and Concord renewed, by a new Act of Oblivion, betwixt them and *Sweden*. Only King *Frederick* for whose sake they had armed, (their own business being now done) seemed forgot in that Treaty, the Commissioners giving this reason for it, that the *Danish* affairs could not commodiously be decided at that distance, being also at that time treated in *Denmark* it self, not without great hopes of success. But the Danes troubled to be thus abandoned by their Allies, were so much the more desirous of Peace. They were indeed supported at present by the Forces of the *United Provinces*, and with hopes out of *England* of more powerful Succours, the Scene being there changed by the happy restitution of King *Charles* the Second, to his hereditary Dominions. This great Princes restauration did indeed contribute much to the present reconciliation, for the *English* Commissioners fore-seeing their authority would quickly expire, and loth to quit their Province without effecting what they

came for, urged it; the *Swedes* considering the ties of blood and friendship betwixt the two Kings, *Charles* and *Frederick*, did desire it. And truly the same reason prevailed with the *Dutch*, but upon another accompt, to wit, lest they should be pressed by this great King to continue the War, until *Frederick* his Friend and oppressed were restored to his entire Dominions, which the victorious *Swedes* had so miserably mutilated. Only the *Danes*, the only sufferers, were thought not so forward, especially being obliged by this second *Treaty*, once more to quit all their pretensions which they had so lavishly divested themselves of in the former War. But they fore-seeing that the ayds from *England*, the King being not yet fully established in his Kingdoms, could not be sudden; and that the vast expences which they were daily at in feeding so many Armies within their Country, would necessarily ruine it; seemed to prefer a certain Peace before the uncertainties of a War. All parties being then agreed, and that happy day, which by a hopeful Peace was to put a period to this unhappy War being come, the two Kings Commissioners and all the Mediators (if they may be properly called so, who seemed interested as parties) met in the Tents again, where the *Treaty* elaborated with so much industry and pains, was signed; first by the Mediators, and afterwards by the Commissioners of the two Kings; and then exchanged and delivered in the mid-way betwixt the Danish lodges and the Swedish Tents, by the Mediators themselves, a little before Sun-set, to the Commissioners of both Kings. This being done, the Assembly broke up, the *Swedes* returning to their Camp, and the *Danes* into the City; where both from their Walls, as also from their Fleets which lay before the Town, witnessed their joy for this happy Accommodation, with the more pleasing noises of their great and small shot. The Peace was proclaimed the same night in all the publick places of the City, by a Herald with his Scepter and Coat of Arms, with the tintamar of Drums and Trumpets, whilst every individual published his satisfaction with more than usual signes of joy. The following dayes the *Swedes* came into the Town, and the *Danes* went into the Camp without exception, neither satisfying their greedy eyes, and their curiosities with the contemplation of those unaccustomed sights, whilst both admired, and secretly condemned those things which they had found by experience to have been hurtful to them. But this entercourse did not last long, for the fourth day after the signing of the Peace, the Prince of *Sulzbach* did according to the Articles of the *Treaty*, draw all his Forces, which were 3000 Horse and Foot out of the Camp, and putting them into Battle array betwixt that and the City, made a stand there, exposing his Army and himself to the view of the *Danes*, who flocked thither in multitudes to see so goodly a sight. A while after having commanded his Cannon, and all the Muskets and Pistols of his Army to fire twice round, he left the City to its pristine Liberty, and the Camp to the *Danes* disposal, and marched with his whole Army towards *Reischbild*.

THE END.



*The Articles of the Treaty of Peace betwixt the Two
Northern Crowns, concluded and subscribed by
the Mediators and the Commissioners of both*

*Kings ²⁷/₈ May
June in the Year*

MDCLX.

I.
First, Let there be a firm, perpetual, and irrevocable Peace, between the two Kings and their Successours, the Kingdomes, Countreys, Councillors, Ministers, Subjects and Inhabitants of *Denmark, Norway, and Sweden*; so that all suspicions, ill-will, diffidence, discord, enmity and Wars be forgot and taken away on both sides; as also whatever happened in or before the War, be buried by a general Amnesty in oblivion: But on the contrary, let there be restored and conserved a perpetual Friendship, mutual Benevolence, Concord and good Neighbourhood; so that the one shall both by word and actions, promote and defend the good and welfare of the other, as his own, and also avert and impede for as much as in him lies, what ever may be prejudicial and hurtful to the Person, Government, Kingdoms, Countreys and Subjects of the other.

II.

And that these things may the better be done, and a mutual confidence be cherished and conserved betwixt the two Kings and their Kingdoms of *Sweden and Denmark*, let all considerations made with any Powers, Kings, Princes, States and Commonwealths whatsoever, in prejudice of each other, be taken away and rejected on both sides; so that also neither shall make any League against the other for the future, nor succour or assist the Enemies of each other, under any pretext whatsoever.

III.

It is also agreed and concluded, that all Ships whether armed or unarmed, whether great or small, with what Merchandise or Lading soever, belonging to the King of *Sweden* or his Subjects, to the inhabitants of *Sweden*, or Provinces, Countreys, or Cities subject to it, shall not only be free in the *Sound and Belts*, from all Taxes, Tolls, Inquisitions and Visitings whatsoever, but also shall not need to have or shew any Certificates of their Ladings, provided they only exhibit and shew their lawful Sea-passes, at his Majesty of *Denmark's* Toll-houses at *Elzineur* or *Newburg*. As for those goods without Merchandise, which belong or appertain to the King of

Sweden

Sweden or his successors, his subjects the Inhabitants of *Sweden*, as also those that dwell in other Provinces, Regions, or Cities subject to it, but carried in forraign Bottoms, the Order appointed in the *Treaty* of *Bremsbro*, as to their Certificates shall be observed, in that sense, that if they but shew their lawful Certificates, they shall then be suffered to pass through the *Sound* or *Belt* without impediment, detension, interdiction, or any exaction of *Toll* whatsoever. But *Swedish* goods carried in Forreign Bottoms, that can produce no lawful Certificates, shall be obnoxious to examination, and pay *Toll* in the *Sound* or *Belt*.

I.V.

As the Castle and Government of *Bahus*, as also the Provinces of *Schonen*, *Bleking*, and *Halland*, together with all their appurtenances, Cities, and Castles, Islands, Rocks, with the Island of *Ween* surrendered afterwards, with all other Superiorities, Preheminences, Regalities, Jurisdctions, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, goods, rents, tolls, rights, as well by Sea as Land, by what name soever they come, as the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* have formerly possessed them, have by the Peace of *Roschild*, concluded in the year 1658, on the 26 of *February*, betwixt the King and Kingdom of *Denmark*, and the King of *Sweden*, been yielded and given over to be joyned and incorporated to the Kingdom of *Sweden*, for an everlasting and undisturbed possession, as it appears by peculiar Acts and Letters of Cession, dated *Copenhagen* the 24 of *February* 1658, and signed and subscribed by the King and Senators of *Denmark*. So the Concession of the said Provinces, Countreys, and Governments, are by these presents confirmed and strengthened in such sort, that the said Provinces, Countreys and Governments, with all the Cities, Forts, Castles, Islands, Rocks, Superiorities, Preheminences, Jurisdctions, and Rights, as is above mentioned, shall remain now and for ever, in the perpetual and uninterrupted possession of the King of *Sweden* his successors and Kingdom.

V.

And being it was judged fit to insert the Agreement about the Isle of *Bornholm* in a separate Instrument; It is therefore concluded that the said Act shall be of the same vigour and force, as if it were comprehended verbatim amongst these Articles. And that it be ratified and observed by both Kings equal with the other Agreements and Conventions.

V I.

Whereas the Nocturnal Fires which are instituted and kept betwixt *Schagen* and *Falsterbo*, to the great commodity of such as sail those wayes, are some of them situated within the Dominions of the King of *Denmark*, and maintained upon His Majesties charges; and others of them situated within the Dominions of *Sweden*, and ought to be nourished and maintained by His Majesty of *Sweden*. The King of *Denmark* only exacting *Toll* of such Ships as sail through

through the *Sound*, under pretext of such fires : It is agreed, that the *King of Denmark*, shall pay yearly to the *King of Sweden*, in consideration of the charges and expences in nourishing the said fires, the sum of 3500 Ryxdollers, payable half thereof every six moneths to His Majesty of *Swedens* publick Minister at *Elzenaur* or *Elzenburg*, it being further to be understood, that neither the *King* nor *Kingdom of Sweden*, shall either upon that or any other pretext whatsoever, pretend to demand or exact any Toll or Tribute within the *Sound*.

VII.

It is also agreed, that as oft as one or more *Swedish* Ships of War, whether great or little, do pass the *Sound*, that they shall salute the Castle by shooting off their Guns according to the *Swedish* manner; and also receive the same honour from the said Castle, according to the manner of *Denmark*. And also the *Danish* Ship or Ships of War passing through the said Streight, shall likewise salute the Castle of *Elzenburg*, by shooting their Guns according to the *Danish* signal, and shall also be re-saluted from the Castle with the *Swedish* signal again. But if it happen that the *Dane* and *Swedish* Ships do meet at Sea, or in any Havens, what number soever the one or the other may be of, neither party shall be obliged to strike, but only to salute each other with their usual civility, mutually and amicably.

VIII.

When ever it happens that either of the two Kings sends any Military Forces or Ships of War, whose numbers may breed suspicion, out of the Ocean into the *Baltick* Sea, or out of the *Baltick* into the Ocean; It is agreed and concluded, that if the Military Forces exceed twelve hundred, or the Ships five in number, it shall then be notified three Weeks at least before hand, by His Majesty of *Denmark* at *Elzenburg* only, and by His Majesty of *Sweden* at *Elzenaur*, or *Newburg*, when they pass the *Belt* without any other ceremony.

IX.

The *King of Denmark* doth also for Himself and his Successours, resign unto the *King of Sweden* His Successours, and the *Kingdom of Sweden*, all jurisdiction as well Ecclesiastick as Secular, that he hath or doth pretend upon some goods seated in the Island of *Rugen*.

X.

In like manner it is agreed, that the remainder of the sum which was to be payed for the Salt, wherewith the three Ships detained in the *Sound*, about the beginning of the former War were laden, shall be paid according to the liquidation made at *Copenhagen*; and it is therefore agreed that His Majesty of *Denmark* shall cause the said remainder to be paid within one year and a day, unto such Merchants at *Hamborough* as His Majesty of *Sweden* shall appoint to receive the same.

XI.

XI.

Moreover, all the Nobles who possess goods, and inhabit in the surrendered Provinces, Lands and Governments, shall be obliged to do homage, and take an Oath of fidelity to the King, his Successors and Kingdom of *Sweden*, and be further bound to a due obedience, and allegiance, and services as they formerly were to the Kings of *Denmark*. In like manner, all the other Inhabitants of the said places, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, Citizens and Country people, shall from this day and for ever, be bound to His Majesty, his Successors, and Kingdom of *Sweden*; and all Superintendents and Priests, shall follow that Bishop, Superintendent and Consistory, to whom His Majesty shall commit and injoin them.

XII.

On the other side, His Majesty and the Kingdom of *Sweden* do promise that all persons, Nobles or Ignoble, whether Ecclesiastick or Seculars, whether Citizens or Country people, dwelling in the Provinces or places surrendered, by this Treaty ought to retain their goods and proprieties, whether Inheritances, Emptions, Changes, Morgages, Grants, &c. And that in such manner, that they shall have power for the future of possessing, using, enjoying, and retaining the said goods and proprieties as they formerly did; in like manner they shall retain their usual Rights, Lawes, Jurisdictions, Priviledges, and Immunities, such as are those *Bene vita ac manus ut Patronatus*, according to the Lawes and Constitutions of the Province, without all impediment or let, so far forth as they do not contradict or oppugne the fundamental Lawes of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, wherewith these surrendered Provinces and places shall hereafter be eternally united. What ever shall be determined and decided by Law, Justice or Judgement, or any other lawful way within those surrendered Provinces, that same shall hereafter continue so, altogether unchanged and unmoved. That it may also appear that His Majesty of *Sweden* out of His singular grace and indulgence, had rather better than diminish the condition of His Subjects, it is promised, That all the Nobles that will wholly subject themselves to the King and Kingdom of *Sweden*, as for their persons, they shall enjoy all those Prerogatives and Priviledges, that the Subjects and Nobles of *Sweden* do enjoy, to wit, they shall be capable of being received and admitted into the Order of Knighthood, of the Nobles of *Sweden*, and may enjoy equally with them, the right of Voting, according to the first constitution of the Court of Knighthood; and that also so, that as many of the Nobles, who can prove that themselves or their Ancestours did enjoy the Office of a Senatour in the Kingdom of *Denmark*, may also be assured to be honoured with the Prerogative of being received into the second Classis of the Knightly Order of *Sweden*. The rest also may be received according to the Ordinance of the Court of Knighthood, and shall absolutely be deemed for Nobles of *Sweden*, and shall, provided they render themselves capable,

pable, enjoy the same access and admission to Benefices and Honours as the other Nobles of *Sweden*. His Majesty of *Sweden* doth likewise promise, that he will be no less careful in conserving the conditions privileges & liberties of the others Orders in these surrendred Provinces, and provided they persevere in their duty to His Majesty of *Sweden*, they may entertain an assured hope of bettering their conditions, and enjoying the same Rights as the Natives of *Sweden*, for the acquiring of Offices and Advancement.

XIII.

That all the Inhabitants, of what quality soever, none excepted, whether in *Schonen* or in *Denmark*, or in *Norway*, who have goods and properties in *Schonen*, *Halland*, *Bleking*, *Babays*, and the rest of the surrendred Provinces and Towns, may enjoy them again, and retain them, together with all the moveables or immoveables which are found there, and that they take possession of them, the next Feast of St. *John*, together with all the privileges, proprieties and rights, in like manner as had been agreed upon, and concluded in the Treaty of *Ruschild*, and afterwards increased and bettered by His Majesty of *Sweden*, and all without any revenge or loss for any thing done by any whatsoever, in the late War, provided notwithstanding, that wary and moderate Commissioners be constituted on both sides, who may deal amicably betwixt both parties, evening and liquidating their accounts to the full satisfaction of each one, the better to prevent all differences in their beginnings which might obstruct this wished for Peace.

XIV.

It is likewise consented to on both sides, that when the Fortresses are delivered to the King of *Sweden's* Commissioners, then also all the Documents and Instructions concerning the Condition, Revenues, Rents, Borders, Shores, and Limits, and also those writings which concern the Administration of Justice, Books of Accounts, and others, which may relate to the knowledge of these things shall be delivered, in case any such be found, which are not as yet given over. This done, two or three Plenipotentiaries shall be appointed on both sides, with power to separate, review, direct, and ordain, all the limits and borders betwixt the surrendred and their neighbouring Provinces and Governments, where they are not as yet reviewed, separated, directed and ordained, whereby all controversies and differences may be the better declined, and every one enjoy that which is his, in peace and quietness.

XV.

On the other side, the King his Successors and Kingdom of *Sweden*, do yield to the King his successors and the kingdom of *Denmark*, all those rights and pretensions which his Majesty of *Sweden* may have upon all the Fortresses, Fortifications, Isles, Provinces, Cities and Territories, which he mastered by force of his armes, namely, *Zeland*, *Laland*, *Falster*, *Meun*, with all the Castles and Fortresses in them, as *Nykoping*, *Naskow*, *Coofer*, *Corfaw*, *Kenk* and

Cronenburg, as also all other Cities, Castles, Forts, Governments, Gentlemens Houses, and Territories whatsoever, which are not expressly excepted in this transaction, or not surrendered by former Covenants. And after they shall be rendered and restored, with all their appurtenances and rights, according to the tenour of this Treaty, they shall follow and belong to the King his Successors and Kingdom of *Denmark*, without any impediment whatsoever.

XVI.

And for the better establishing of mutual confidence and Amity betwixt these two Kingdoms, His Majesty and Kingdom of *Sweden*, will have no refusal for his expences, in those Fortifications which he raised in *Denmark*, but wil at the time of their evacuation, take care that they be all delivered intire, and in the state they are now in, to His Majesty and the Kingdom of *Denmark*.

XVII.

In like manner, at the instance of the Mediators, and for the love of Peace, the Pallace and Government of *Bromheym*, or ----- together with all its subject Cities, Towns, Castles and Fortresses, as also all their Ecclesiastical and Secular goods, Governments, and appurtenances, as they were delivered to His Majesty of *Sweden*, by the Treaty of *Roschild*, shall be restored to the King, Kingdom and Crown of *Denmark*, to be re-annexed to the Kingdom of *Norway* for ever, without any reserve of pretension upon the same to the King, his Successors and Kingdom of *Sweden*; to which end, the King of *Denmark's* Letters of Cession made according to the first Article of the Treaty of *Roschild*, shall be restored and cancelled.

XVIII.

In like manner, the Kings Majesty surrenders for Himself, His Successors, and the Kingdom of *Sweden*, all the rights and pretensions that he had or shall have, as Duke of *Bremen*, upon the County of *Delmenhorst* and *Dismarsh*, and transfers those his rights over to His Majesty of *Denmark*, his Successors, and the Dukes of *Holfeyn* of the Royal and *Gottorp's* Line, so that His Majesty of *Sweden* and his Successors, neither will, nor ought, either *de jure*, or *de facto*, ever to pretend any thing more upon these Countries. If also His Majesty of *Sweden* obtained any pretension, as Duke of *Bremen* heretofore, upon some Noblemens goods in *Holfeyn*, that also is remitted, by vertue of this Treaty, and promise made that the documents which are to be found, and pertain hereunto, shall be delivered to the King of *Denmark*, and the House of *Holfeyn* of the Royal and *Gottorp* Line.

XIX.

And that this renewed Friendship, may be laid upon a more firm foundation, the King and Kingdom of *Sweden* will let fall and remit, as they do hereby let fall and remit, that

that Right which His Majesty, or any of his subjects, pretend upon the four Tun of Gold for the *Guiney* business, so that henceforward nothing shall be demanded or required for that sum, but the King and kingdom of *Denmark* shall remain wholly acquitted and free from any payment, or least pretence thereof.

XX.

As also the Fortresses, as well those which have been taken in this War, as those which are surrendered by this Pacification, shall be delivered without Cannon, Carriages, or warlike Ammunition on both sides; except the Castle of *Cronenburg*, where according to agreement, those Cannon which were not brought thither by the *Swedes*, or have no *Swedish* Armes or Inscriptions upon them, shall be retained: So it is likewise agreed, that the Country people of those Governments, where those Fortresses are seated, shall be obliged to carry the Cannon and munitions of War to the Shore, where they may be most commodiously shipped and transported.

XXI.

It is also concluded and promised, that in those Fortresses which are to be surrendered on either side, there shall be a certain time determined, wherein he who so surrenders a fortified place, shall conserve and keep his Ammunition of War which is at present there, until he may commodiously transport it elsewhere.

XXII.

All Captives, of what condition soever, shall immediately be set at liberty without Ransom: But as for their Diet, they shall satisfy that according to equity. In like manner all *Danish* subjects which the King and kingdom of *Sweden* caused to be transported into other places of their obedience whatsoever, may have free and unhindered liberty, to return again into their Native Countries. Such Prisoners who have taken up Arms under the *Danes* shall have liberty to return to their former Militia, as also such who are in the *Swedes* service, if they please, provided it be done within three Months after the Ratification of this Peace.

XXIII.

It is also agreed, that the places taken by either King, since the Peace of *Roschild*, ought by force of this Treaty be restored to that party, whose they were, or ought to have been by the Treaty of *Roschild*, and all the *Swedish* forces, Horse and Foot, shall be withdrawn out of all the Kingdoms, Provinces, Dutchies, and Lands belonging to the King of *Denmark*, within 14 dayes at most after the ratification of this Treaty, which ought to be within a Month after the conclusion of the Peace; in this manner, that as soon as the Peace is subscribed, and the same day that it is published, the Siege before *Copenhagen* shall be raised, so that the Camp shall be

evacuated within the four following dayes, and *Nyckeping, Falster,* and *Menn* within the four next dayes after. And on the contrary, the Siege of *Tonning* shall be raised, and all *Eyderstadt* and *Husum* evacuated. Eight dayes after *Nascom* shall be surrendered to the *Danes*, and about that time, as soon as Shipping is ready and at hand, the withdrawing of the Forces shall Commence; eight dayes after this, *Koeg* or *Kenk* shall be surrendered, and the Souldiers drawn out of it, as soon as the Ratifications are exchanged, within the Month after the signing of the Peace, and that the shipping for transporting the souldiery are ready; within the four following dayes *Corseur* shall be delivered up, and the Souldiery begin to be imbarked and transported, and at the same time the Duke of *Holstejn's* Country shall be freed from all His Majestie of *Denmark's* souldiers. Shortly after, the forces which remain, Horse and Foot shall imbarke in convenient Havens, and likewise be withdrawn from *Cronenburg*, so that that Fortres shall be wholly evacuated and surrendered the 15 day after the exchange of the Ratifications, or when the six Weeks after the conclusion of the Peace are expired, and at that very time all *Zeland* shall be delivered and cleared from the *Swedish* souldiers.

XXIV.

And that no force or injury be done during the said term, to the inhabitants, in the changes of Fortresses and withdrawing of souldiers, out of the Cities and Provinces, but that all things may be done in order, Commissioners from both sides shall be present, who shall both in the Towns and Ports take special care, that no force, direption of goods, or injuries be done to the Subjects, or any other unlawful thing imposed upon them, under pain of punishment to be inflicted upon the transgressor. And as it is necessary that provisions be made for the sustentation of the *Swedish* forces during their stay in the Country, but so, that after the day of concluding the Peace, nothing more shall be demanded from the subjects, under pretext of Redemption, or any other burthens whatsoever, but only what is needful for their subsistence whilest they stay in this Kingdom, and which shall be adjudged such, according to an appointment made by the Commissioners of both sides; and that the evacuation may the sooner and better be effected, His Majesty of *Denmark* shall forthwith command, in all convenient Havens in every Province, that Ships, Vessels, and Boats, with their necessities, Men, Mariners, and implements, be gathered together and in a readines, as His Majesty will also command, whereby the transport of the souldiery, and the evacuation of places may be hastened, and not impeded, unless by contrary Winds. And all the Ships, together with their Marriners and men, and what ever else, shall be provided by *Denmark* for the said evacuation, shall as soon as the transport is done, be released without any let or hinderance.

XXV.

It shall also be free for all the subjects and inhabitants of the surrendered

rendred Regions and Provinces, to transport themselves into any other Cities or places to dwell there, provided it be done according to the Statutes of the Provinces and priviledges of the Cities out of which they will transmigrate: what concerns the goods which in the time of War were carried into Cities for their security, the Masters and Owners thereof may redemand them, without contradiction and impediment.

XXVI.

The former transactions and Covenants, to wit, those of *Stetin*, *Siöder*, *Bromsbro*, and *Roschild* (excepting the third Article, which is plainly excluded here) made betwixt these Noble Kingdoms, shall retain their force and vigour in all their Articles, and shall be confirmed as they were before the beginning of this War, and as if they were inserted word for word in this Treaty, unless in as much as they are expressly changed in this.

XXVII.

Whereas it is provided by the 22 Article of the Treaty of *Roschild*, that His Majesty of *Denmark* shall be obliged according to equity, to satisfie his Highness the Prince of *Sleswick*, the Duke of *Holsteyn Gottorp*, after that the Commissioners of both parts, as well of the King of *Denmark*'s, as of his said Highness have treated, transacted, and concluded of the matter in difference at *Copenhagen*, the 22 of May 1658. it is agreed by these, that all those Covenants and transactions shall be exactly observed and faithfully performed in every particular.

XXVIII.

Moreover, if any thing should have happened in this or the former War, that might breed any enmities or diffidence, betwixt the King and kingdom of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Holsteyn Gottorp*, as well betwixt themselves, as their Ministers, servants, and subjects, all that, as well out of consideration of their mutual consanguinity, and especially of Her Majesty the Queen of *Sweden*, as betwixt the two Royal, and Ducal House of *Holsteyn Gottorp*, shall from this day, by vertue of this Treaty, be composed and wholly forgot; and on the contrary, a perfect, solid, and perpetual friendship be established betwixt them. His Majesty of *Denmark* will also when the evacuation is made in *Denmark*, withdraw his Army and forces out of his Highness Countries, Fortresses, and Cities, and also use his utmost endeavour to perswade the Confederates to evacuate such of his Highness Forts and Towns which they possess, without any delay.

XXIX.

What Kings, Commonwealths, Powers, and Princes soever, shall desire to be comprehended in this Peace, must require it of both Kings. But the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, together with their Kingdoms, Electorships, Duchies, and Provinces are expressly included herein. So that His Majesty

jeſty and Kingdom of *Sweden*, will ſeek no pretence, under no pretext whatſoever, againſt the aforementioned Emperour, King of *Poland*, and Eleſſour of *Brandenburg*, becauſe of the ayd given by them this War, againſt the Kingdom of *Sweden* and its Confederats.

XXX.

The Lord *Anthony Gunther* Earl of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorſt*, &c. his Succeſſors, Feudals, and Free-holders, together with their Countries, Dynaſties, Lands, Goods, Juridiſdictions and Appurtenances, ſhall be included in this Pacification; wherein alſo *Fohn* Prince of *Anhalt*, of the Line of *Zerweſt*, becauſe of the Dynaſty of *Feveren*, and the Lord the Earl *Anthony* of *Oldenburg*, Lord in *Varel* and *Kniphawſen*, with his Dynaſties, Lordſhips, Goods and Rights, ſhall be alſo comprehended.

XXXI.

It is further agreed, that all the Cities comprehended in the *Hanſe* League, none excepted, are likewise included in this, ſo that they may enjoy a free and undiſturbed Commerce in both Kingdoms, both by Sea and Land: and if any thing have happened in this War, that might offend either party, that alſo is forgot and buried in eternal Oblivion.

XXXII.

And whereas certain ſecret Articles were concluded about the time of the *Röſchild* Pacification, which are not reiterated in this, all ſuch ſhall be of force, as if they were inſerted word for word in this Treaty. Moreover, what Writings ſoever have been publiſhed during this War, on either ſide, tending to the prejudice or ſcandal of the other, are hereby wholly taken away, and ſhall be caſhiered and prohibited, and be no more divulged or reprinted, within theſe Kingdoms.

XXXIII.

But that all theſe things as they are ſet down, as well in word as in deed, may be obſerved and fulfilled now and for the future, with all firmneſs, fidelity, and ſincerity, it is mutually promiſed that theſe our Covenants ſhall be amicably confirmed by both Kings, *Frederick* the third King of *Denmark*, and *Charles* King of *Sweden*, with the ſubſcriptions of their Hands, and impreſſion of their Seals; and for greater ſecurity, they ſhall be ſigned and ſealed by the Senators of both Kingdoms.

XXXIV.

It is alſo concluded and promiſed, that a Senator and Secretary of both ſides, ſhall about the 24 of *June* next following meet at *Elzenew*, and bring with them and exchange the Ratification of this Treaty, confirmed with the Subſcriptions and Signatures of both parties. Where alſo the *Swedes* ſhall have with them the Letters of Ceſſion, for the Government of *Dronſheym*, and deliver them at the ſame time to the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners, as a teſtimony of the force,

force, firmness, and observance of the concluded Peace.

This Treaty being thus Concluded, Subscribed, and Sealed, by the Commissioners of both sides, the Embassadors, Commissioners, and Plenipotentiary Deputies of the most Christian King of *France*, of the Commonwealth of *England*, and of the High and Mighty Lords of the *United Provinces*, did promise in the Names of their Principals, and oblige themselves by a reciprocal Caution and Garranty, as well general of the three States together, as special of each State apart, as they do hereby tie themselves in the best Form, by a most ample, secure, and mutual Obligation, as Sureties, Cautions, and Avengers of what is transacted, and cause effectually that these covenants be fully, carefully, & religiously performed, and observed for ever: And that they will also procure the Ratifications of their respective Principals hereupon: So that they have been further entreated by the Commissioners of both Kings (not only as Mediators, but as Sureties, Pledges, and Avengers of these transactions) for greater confirmation, and certain assurance of all, to Subscribe and Sign these Articles and Treaty together with them.

*Dated betwixt Coppenhagen and the Camp,
the 27 of May, Anno 1660.*

<i>Hugues de Terlon</i> (L S.)	<i>Al. Sidney</i> (L S.)	<i>G. Van Slingland</i> (L S.)
	<i>Rob. Honniwood</i> (L S.)	<i>Pet. Vogelsang</i> (L S.)
		<i>P. de Huybers</i> (L S.)
		<i>W. Haren</i> (L S.)
<i>Olaus Gasberg</i> (L S.)	<i>Sch. Rosenhaen</i> (L S.)	
<i>Axelius Wrrup</i> (L S.)	<i>Steno Bielke</i> (L S.)	
<i>Pet. Rees</i> (L S.)		

Whilest



Whilest this Work was in the Press, the following Papers came accidentally to hand. Which containing a Summary Account of things conducing to the illustration of much of the Political part of the foregoing History, whose Author chiefly intended the Military (being composed by One, who had been publick Minister upon the place, during the time of the first War, terminated by the Rotschild Treaty, in which He was Mediator; and during most part of the Second, renewed by the Swede upon a pretended inexecution on the Danish part of the said Treaty) I have thought good to subjoyn, as an useful Appendix to it.

A



**A Report of the State of Affairs betwixt the
two Crowns of Sweden and Denmark;
made by Sir Philip Meadow, up-
on his return into England, in
December, 1669.**



After the Peace concluded at *Roschild*, in *Febr.* 1657. Betwixt the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, under the Mediation of *England* and *France*, to the seeming good contentment of both the Kings: The one gaining eminent advantages, by the acquisition of a new Territory; The other, avoiding the imminent peril of the loss of his whole Country; I was remanded out of *Denmark*, by expresse order from *England*, and placed with His Majesty of *Sweden*, with intention to begin a new Mediation, betwixt Him, the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and had powers and creditives requisite for that purpose. In the mean time, new and unexpected jealousies arose, betwixt *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which at last broke forth to an open rupture of the Peace so lately established. The beginning of *August* 1658: His Majesty of *Sweden* rendezvouz'd a Body of his Army at *Kiel* in *Holstejn*, and there embarqu'd them, but kept his Design very secret. He propounded to me to go along with him, which I refused, considering that his Design must either be upon *Denmark* or *Prussia*, in neither of which cases it could be proper for me to accompany Him. Not into *Denmark*, for there I had been already Mediator, and therefore incongruous for me, to have been the Spectator of a breach of the Peace I had so lately concluded, without having orders from *England* suitable to such an emergency. Not into *Prussia*, because thither I was designed Mediator, and therefore ought not to make my self a party, by putting my self in company of an Enemy. Whereupon I stopp'd in *Germany*, writing immediately into *England*, to communicate what had passed, and attending further Orders.

T

During

During these traverses, the old Protector fell sick, and incapable of making reflection upon affairs in those quarters; and soon after died. But as soon as I had received new Orders and Creditives from *England*, I embarked at *Travemond* and returned for *Denmark*, in quest of His Majesty of *Sweden*. The latter end of *October*, 1658. Admiral *Opdam* with the *Dutch* Fleet consisting of about 38 men of War, and 70 small Merchant-men and Fluyts, upon which were embarked 3000 Land souldiers, passed the *Sound*, and after a sharp encounter with the *Swedish* Fleet, arrived at *Coppenhagen*. Thus was *Sweden* engaged at the same time in a War with the Emperour, *Pole*, *Brandenburger*, *Moscovite*, *Dane*, and *Hollander*. But this powerful arming of our Neighbour-State, awakened us in *England* to consider, that we also had an interest to preserve in the *Baltick* Sea, which we had no more reason to believe that the *Hollander* would do for us at his own charges, than that he would imbarque himself in so expensive a War, without expecting some satisfactory considerations of return from *Denmark*. Besides, though we were willing to see *Coppenhagen* relieved, yet we were not sure the *Hollanders* assistance would be bounded there, and could not be willing to see the King of *Sweden* ruined by the combined force of so many Enemies.

The States General made it their work and business, absolutely to assist the *Dane*, and never made any overture of accommodation betwixt the two Kings, nor had as yet any publick Minister upon the place by whom to do it; But *England* steers in this affair another course, propounds not a direct Assistance, but a Peace. Has no design to make the King of *Sweden* Master of *Denmark*, for on the contrary, the conservation of *Denmark* is the common Interest both of *England* and *Holland*; But the proper Interest of *England*, was so to make a Peace, as not to suffer the *Dane* to be ruined by the *Swede*, nor to suffer the *Swede* to be ruined by the *Hollander*; or in the conditions of the Peace, to be subjected to such Laws as he should impose upon him at pleasure; but to preserve *Sweden* not only as a ballance upon the House of *Austria*, which is the common interest of *England* and *France*, but as the counterpoise upon the Confederate Naval strength of *Holland* and *Denmark*, which is the peculiar interest of *England*. And besides this, *England* had another interest in this Affair, viz. To enable the King of *Sweden* so to retire himself out of so unhappy a War, and upon such equitable terms and conditions, as might have both capacitated him, and obliged him, to give us some reasonable satisfaction and recompence, in consideration of the great expences we were necessitated to be at, for the securing of his interest, together with our own. And indeed the most visible medium at that time for stopping the progress of a War betwixt *Sweden* and *Holland*, and taking up the differences betwixt *Sweden* and *Denmark*, was a Fleet from *England*.

In November 1658. A Fleet of twenty Frigats was sent out under Vice-

Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, who coming to the height of the *scam*, found he could not enter the *Cataget*, for the abundance of Ice, and so was constrained to return without effecting any thing, only that this warlike appearance from *England*, stopped the 4000 men and twelve ships of War which were ready in the *Texel*, designed for the *Baltick*, under the command of *de Ruyter*.

During this, I had proposed to both Kings, the Mediation of *England*, for composing a second time the differences betwixt the two Crowns, which both of them freely accepted. But I could never induce the King of *Denmark* to treat seperately with the King of *Sweden* alone, he always insisting upon the comprehension and admission of all his Allies to the same Treaty, which was directly against the letter of my Instructions.

In *January 1658*. A Treaty was made betwixt *France* and *England*, for re-establishing a Peace betwixt the two Northern Kings, upon equitable terms. Wherein it was particularly provided, that if upon occasion of the succours sent, or hereafter to be sent from *England* to the King of *Sweden* in order to such a Peace, a War should arise with any other Forraign Prince or State, *France* together with *England*, should declare such Prince or State their common Enemy.

The beginning of *April 1659*. The Fleet under General *Montague* arrived in the *Sound*. My Instructions, were to propound a particular Treaty betwixt the two Crowns, because a general one, in order to an Universal Peace, would have been at that time tedious and impracticable, and the Peace to be established in pursuance of this particular Treaty, was to be under the conditions and qualifications of the *Roschild* Treaty, as the most proper Medium for accommodating all differences. Besides, both *France* and *England*, esteemed it most honourable, to assert and maintain that Peace wherein they had been joint Mediators. The issue of my Negotiation was this. The K. of *Denmark* absolutely refused to treat separately with *Sweden*, the K. of *Sweden* declares himself willing to treat, but not willing to accept of the *Roschild* Treaty, as the terms and conditions of the Peace. Pretending, that this would be tacitly to accuse His last enterprise upon *Denmark* of injustice, for if the *Dane* gave the occasion of the War, by entering into new practices and combinations with his Enemies, after the former Peace made, which he avers they did (though both Kings as is usual in such cases, highly protest the right of their Cause, and the justice of their Armes) then says he, I ought to have better security for the future, that the *Dane* by an innate animosity and desire of revenge, fomented by other States, start not out upon every occasion, to traverse my designs, and work me mischief, when they shall find me intangled in a remote War, as formerly in *Poland*: especially being contiguous with *Sweden*, and so most capable of doing me hurt. Besides that, He pretended satisfaction for the loss of *Thoren*, and a considerable part of *Prussia*; occasioned by this diversion of his Arms in *Denmark*; As also, for

the loss of these opportunities in *Germany*, during the vacancy of the Empire, which He might have improved by the presence of His Army in those parts, and the assistance of *France* and his other Allies, either to have turned aside the Succession from the House of *Austria* his Hereditary Enemy, or to have capitulated advantages for himself with the Emperour that was to be Elected, or at least wise to have prevented the conjunction and confederacy betwixt the now Emperour and the Electour of *Brandenburg*. Many other difficulties lay in the way of the *Roschild* Treaty, amongst which it was not the least, that the King had already disposed of to the Officers of his Court and Army, the Lands in *Schonen* and *Bleking*, which by the Treaty of *Roschild* are reserved to their respective Proprietors, viz. the *Danish* Nobility. However, after many instances and solicitations, together with the advantage of the Report, which was about this time confirmed from all hands, that the Peace betwixt *France* and *Spain* was intended in good earnest, which might probably oblige *England* to retire home their forces for their own security, and slacken any assistance from *France*, and so *Sweden* left alone to contest with so many Enemies. His Majesty began at last to hearken to the Proposition of the *Roschild* Treaty, and by a Paper in writing signed by His Commissioners, bearing date the 21 of *April*, in answer to a former Memorial of mine, expressly accepted the said Treaty, but then subjoyned to the words of acceptance, a provisional clause of better security, than what was formerly granted him, by the bare disposition of the *Roschild* Treaty. Which clause I not being satisfied with, as that which might be interpreted as elusory of the fore-going words, His Majesty soon after declared to me, that as to point of future security, He would acquiesce in the special Garranty of *England* and *France*, which I had power also to offer Him on the part of *England*.

In pursuance of the Instructions sent upon the Fleet under General *Mountague*, and the better to facilitate the work of the Peace, by engaging the States General to act in Consort with *England* and *France*. A Treaty was concluded at the *Hague* the 11 of *May*, 1659. Betwixt the three States, in order to re-establish a Peace betwixt the two *Northern* Kings, upon the root and foundation of the *Roschild* Treaty. Three Weeks time was limited to the Negotiation of the publick Ministers upon the place, after the expiration of which Term, neither *England* nor the States, were to assist either of the Kings who should refuse the Peace, during his refusal. The King of *Sweden*, though unknown to the States General, had already assented to treat upon the foot and foundation of the *Roschild* Treaty, his safe Conducts prepared, his Commissioners nominated; I as Mediator, propounded *Fredericksburg* for the place of the Treaty, which the King also accepted. The *Dutch* Deputies Extraordinary from the States General to the two Kings, who arrived about this time, made their instances and applications to his Majesty of *Denmark* (as I had formerly also done) to draw from him

him a suitable concurrence to the *Roschild* Treaty. But that King still persisted in the same resolution, not to treat separately, but propounded an Universal Treaty, at which the Ministers of his respective Allies and Confederates might be present; and to this end, nominated *Lubec* for the place of a general Assembly. I urged upon the *Dutch* Deputies, the fourth Article of the Treaty of the *Hague*, wherein 'tis covenanted; that no assistance was to be given, to the Prince that should refuse a Peace upon just and reasonable conditions, which reasonable conditions are by the first Article to be expounded the Treaty at *Roschild*. Now he who refuses to treat (which in this case, according to the sense of the three Estates was to treat separately) refuses a Peace upon what conditions soever.

The Deputies were at accord with me, that His Majesty of *Denmark* continuing in that resolution, their Fleets could no longer assist him, and wrote to General *Opdam* their Commander in chief, to the same effect; who at that time was with his Fleet in the *Belt*. He notwithstanding continued still to favour under-hand the *Dane*, but durst not so vigorously and openly assist him, as otherwise he would, partly by reason of the contrary Advise and Orders which he had received from the Deputies of the States, but more especially, because over-awed by the presence of the *English* Fleet.

This suspension of Assistance on the part of the *Hollander*, though the *English* Fleet remained Neutral and acted nothing, onely obliged the other to the performance of Covenants, gave the *Swede* some considerable advantages, who upon this opportunity, reduced the Isles of *Manen*, *Falster*, and *Laland*, together with the capital Town of *Nashow* under his obedience. The truth is, the *Dutch* Deputies found themselves engaged in some difficulties, for whereas they supposed that the King of *Sweden* would have been the refuser of the Treaty, and consequently the *English* Fleet bound up from giving him any Assistance (which was the main thing they aimed at) and the King of *Denmark* the acceptor, and consequently the *Dutch* Fleet at liberty to assist him, they found the quite contrary, and so had tied up their own hands, by their Treaty made at the *Hague*.

This was the state of Affairs in the *Northern* parts, at the time of the Change of the Government here in *England*, and the Parliaments being restored to their former authority. And this was the true season of ripening things to a conclusion, and if the Negotiation had continued still in the same train and method, that is, if the Parliament had either immediately sent new powers to me, to act according to my former Instructions, viz. the *Roschild* Treaty; or forthwith dispatched some other person or persons to pursue the same, it had certainly issued to a Peace. For *England*, *France*, *Sweden*, yea and *Holland* too, being at accord concerning the Medium of the Peace, it was not possible that the *Dane* should stand it out long. But no persons appearing from *England*, and I having no authorities

thorities from the Parliament, the Dutch Deputies began to seek evasions. When I urged upon them, that they ought not to assist the refusing King; their only Reply was this, that by the first Article of the *Treaty* at the *Hague*, the Ministers upon the place were to use their utmost diligence and endeavour with both the Kings, which, said they, I had done with the King of *Sweden*, but not with the King of *Denmark*, which was a meer shift, because they knew I could not at that time go to *Copenhagen*, being destitute of Creditives. And now they held themselves no longer obliged by the *Treaty* at the *Hague*, but *de Ruyter* with a new Fleet of forty men of War enters the *Belt*, joyns with Admiral *Oydam*, passes on to *Copenhagen*, all which was expressly against the letter of the said *Treaty*.

True it is, that about the middle of *June 1659*, I received a Letter from the Council of State, directed to my self; authorizing me to continue my Negotiation with the two Kings as formerly, till further order from the Parliament or Council of State, but I neither had Creditives nor Commission, nor any thing to exhibit to either of the Kings, whereby to constitute and legitimate me, as the publick Minister of this Commonwealth.

And now the Negotiation for the Peace was at a long pause, and our Fleet in the mean time at an Anchor in the *Sound*. Only because His Majesty of *Denmark* had always insisted upon an Universal *Treaty*, in reference to a general Peace, His Majesty of *Sweden* gave me a Declaration in writing, which I sent to the Council of State *June* the 28, in which he also declared himself willing to treat a general Peace.

This he did of his own accord, not at my instance, for all my Instructions directed me only to a particular *Treaty* betwixt the 2 Crowns. His Majesty told me moreover, that in case *England* and *France* would obtain for him a general Peace, in which said Peace he propounded to himself no more, than that things betwixt Him, the Emperour, and the Electour of *Brandenburg*, should return to their former estate without any further demands on either side; and for the *Pole*, he should only give him some equitable recompence for the places he should surrender to him in *Prussia*. He would not only admit the Dane to the *Roschild Treaty*, but release something considerable in the said *Treaty*, in consideration of a general Peace. But in case of a separate *Treaty* with *Denmark*, he would remit nothing of the *Roschild Treaty*.

The 30. of *July 1659*. The Commissioners Plenipotentiary arrived in the *Sound*, which was three months after the Change of the Government here in *England*, I was put out of the Commission for the Mediation, and had Creditives sent me only as Resident. A little before this, *viz.* the fourth of the said Moneth, a new *Treaty* was made at the *Hague*, by which the King of *Sweden* was to restore, not only what he had gained upon the Dane by this last War, but also the Island of *Bruntholm*, with the Govern-
ment

ment of *Drontheim* in *Norway*, with all its appurtenances, a Country of near 200 *English* miles extent, which was formerly granted him by the *Roschild Treaty*, and by authentick Acts of State incorporated in the Crown of *Sweden*: Besides the remission of the 400000 *Ryxdollers*, which the *Dane* had formerly promised to pay for satisfaction of damages, done to the *Swede* in *Guinea*. The King of *Sweden* was also to admit the States General to the *Treaty* made at *Elbing*, and the Elucidations thereof made at *Thoren*, and both States, viz. *England* and *Holland*, reciprocally oblige themselves, not only not to assist the refuser, but to compel by joynt force of Arms, to an acceptance of the forefaid conditions. And thus the State of Affairs was quite altered, and new obstacles interposed in the way of the Peace. For,

I.

Both Kings were highly dissatisfied with this manner of proceeding. For whereas the first *Treaty* at the *Hague* of the eleventh of *May*, was never propounded to either of the Kings as that which should bind or oblige them, but only made use of by Me as a private Instruction; this was not only publicly propounded, but was to be obtruded by a compulsory force, *England* and *Holland* making themselves not Mediators, but Umpires and Arbitrators of the quarrel betwixt the two Kings, which they interpreted to a diminution of their Sovereignty, by erecting a superiority over them. But the King of *Sweden* was most of all disgusted, because *England* without any concert or communication had with him, enters into a *Treaty* with his open Enemies (for so at that time he reputed the States General) to impose upon him by a conjoint force, Laws and Conditions which he judges altogether unreasonable.

II.

Whereas the King of *Sweden* had already accepted of the *Roschild Treaty*, conform to the Agreement made at the *Hague* of the eleventh of *May* (though not under the notion and formality of the *Treaty* at the *Hague* as obligatory upon him) but as the counsel and advice of *England* his faithful Allies, and upon the King of *Denmark*'s refusal, had in prosecution of the War gained notable advantages upon him; the King of *Sweden* expected both to have profited by his acceptance of the Peace, at the instance of *England*, and by the advantages of the War, he having after the refusal of the King of *Denmark*, reduced *Mænen*, *Falster*, and *Laland*. Whereas a new *Treaty* is made at the *Hague* of the fourth of *July*, in prejudice of the accepting King, to clog the Peace on his part with new and burdensome conditions, and these to be forcibly imposed upon him, in favour of the Refuser. Besides that, *England* recoils from their own Agreement; and says the King, as they have made a second, so they may still make a third, and a fourth *Treaty* at the *Hague*.

III.

III.

The tedious and unnecessary delays which have been used, have been a great obstruction in the way of the Peace. For if the Peace betwixt the two Crowns had been concluded in the *Spring* of the year, the King of *Sweden* had had time enough to have transported his Army into *Pomeran*, to have taken the Campaign there, to have prevented the infal of the Imperial Army, and to have provided Winter quarters for his Troops. But the Summer being almost pass'd, before the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries, and the Peace to be begun anew upon another foot, which would necessarily require some longer time. The King of *Sweden* was to seek what to have done with his Army; to disband them was not reasonable, because though he had made Peace with *Denmark*, yet he had still War with the Emperour, *Pole*, and *Brandenburger*. In *Sweden* there was no subsistence for them, to transport them into *Pomeran*, and there take the Field, he could not, for the Imperial Army was much superiour to his in strength, and had already seized the principal Passes of the Country, and was absolutely Master of the Campaign. And to have put them into Garisons, which above two parts in three consisted of Horse, the want of forage had ruined them in few days. So that now the King of *Sweden* holds close to *Denmark*; First, as a quarter to his Troops. Secondly, as a place of refuge and security, putting himself upon the Defensive, as it were intrenched within those Islands, not having strength sufficient to appear before his Enemy upon the *Terra firma*. Thirdly, as a Gage or Pledge for the restitution of what he had lost in *Pomeran*. And I have reason to believe that as things now stand, the War betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden* will hardly be accommodated but by a general Peace.

In the mean time, I humbly conceive that *England* in the management of this business, hath departed from their proper Interest, and that upon these following grounds.

I.

We have wholly dis-obliged the *Swede* who is *Englands* counterpoise against the *Dane* and *Hollander*, The *Hollander* is sure that the *Dane* will always side with him against *England*, witness the Arrest of our Merchant-men in the *Sound*, in 1653. We ought to be as sure of the *Swede*, and though not to assist him in the conquest of *Denmark*, yet so to have managed the business of a Peace, as to have firmly engaged him in our Interests,

II.

We have lost our reputation; It had been honourable for *England* to have maintained the *Roschild* Treaty, in which we were Mediators. But to equip a mighty Fleet of forty of our best men of War, and to keep them out at Sea six Months together, to the amazement of all our Neighbouring States, without effecting any thing,

thing, failing of our End and Design, is wholly inglorious.

III.

We have lost our Expences. The King of *Sweden* never supposed that *England* would be at all those vast charges, without expecting any return from him, but freely propounded several advantages in point of Trade and Commerce by way of recompence, and amongst others, propounded that the Pitch and Tar, and the whole growth and production of *Sweden*, which is for the apparel and equipage of Shipping, should be sold at a regulated price to *English* Merchants only, by which means *London* might have become the Staple of those Commodities. But we on the contrary, have barr'd our selves from accepting any thing of privilege or advantage, though it be only *ratione oneris*, upon the accompt of our expences, and so to be considered as a re-imbursment. For by the Agreement of the *Hague* of the fourth of *July*, *England* is to compel the King of *Sweden* to admit the States General to the Treaty at *Elbing*. And by the expresse letter of the Treaty of *Elbing*, the King of *Sweden* is obliged to admit the people of the *United Netherlands*, to the same privileges and advantages which he either hath, or shall hereafter grant, to any other Forraign Nation whatsoever.

IV.

We oblige our selves, to force the King of *Sweden* to admit the States General to the *Elbing Treaty*, notwithstanding that by that Treaty the former Treaties made betwixt Queen *Christina*, and the States General, one at *Stockholm* 1640, and the other at *Suderacre* 1645, are expressly renewed and re-confirmed. Both which are Treaties of mutual Defence, and by vertue of which, in case *England* become hereafter engaged in a War against *Holland*, the King of *Sweden* will be obliged to assist *Holland* against us, with four thousand men at his own charges.

V.

We have lost our Opportunity of making the Peace. *England* was once in a manner Arbitrator of this whole affair. *England* propounds the *Roschild Treaty* as the Medium of the Peace, *Holland* though very unwilling, yet is necessitated to assent thereto. For to think that *Holland*, who was in actual War with *Portugal* and *Sweden*, would at the same time break with *England*, when back'd with *France*, especially his most confident Ally the *Dane*, being reduced to that extremity, as to become instead of a help, a charge and burthen, is to suppose that which is Morally and Politically impossible. But as the case now stands, *England* is the least in this business, all that we pretend to, is to be included in the States Generals Treaty of *Elbing*, wherein they are Principals, and we but Accessories.

VI.

VI.

VI.

We play advantages into the hands of the *Hollander* our Rival State, and that only which stands in the eye and aim of *England's* greatness. For besides the Treaty of *Elbing*, which we engage to obtain for him, The *Hollander* obliges us also to see *Drontheim* restored to the *Dane*. In which the *Hollander* consults his own utility, for *Schonen* is the Country, which the King of *Denmark* would have restored, but the *Hollander* profits more by *Drontheim*, when in the King of *Denmark's* hands, than the King of *Denmark* himself; both in point of Trade, and in Levies of Men: For, during the late War betwixt *England* and *Holland*, the *Dutch* had seldom less than two or three thousand of those *Norwegians* in the service of their Fleets. Besides that, the greatest part or the whole of the Revenue of *Drontheim*, is oppignorated to the Merchants of *Amsterdam* for debt. And indeed, the whole Kingdom of *Denmark* is become so obnoxious, upon the accompt of vast Debts, that it is in a manner at the disposition of *Holland*.

The States General have steered an even and direct course to their Interest. They have maintained their Ally, they have not only secured *Denmark* from the power of *Sweden*, but secured it to themselves; And being secure of *Denmark*, are now assuring *Sweden* to themselves also; having already weakened the near Amity and correspondence which was betwixt *England* and *Sweden*. Whereas we, after all our Expences, are so far from being sure of the friendship of either of the Kings, that we are sure of the ill-will of both; Of the *Dane*, for appearing with an armed Fleet in the Interests of *Sweden*; of the *Swede*, for no sooner appearing but deserting him. They have also obtained their Treaty at *Elbing*, which in rigour of justice they could not pretend to, for they themselves formerly refused to ratifie it in due time. And to crown all, they have heightened their reputation, by rendring themselves Masters of their Design. We on the contrary, have lost our Friend, lost our Expences, lost our Business, lost our Reputation; From whence I conclude, that in the management of this Affair, we in *England* have departed from Our proper Interest.

FINIS.

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